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lished under the Direction of the Departments of History and Political Science of the University of North Carolina

VOLUME 23 NUMBER 1

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824 IN NORTH CAROLINA

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By

ALBERT RAY NEWSOME, Ph.D.

Head of the Department of History
The University of North Carolina

CHAPEL HILL

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PREFACE

The political revolution which brought triumph to Andrew Jackson in the United States in 1828 occurred in North Carolina in 1824. The memorable presidential election of 1824 in North Carolina was a democratic upsurge which repudiated political methods and leadership well-entrenched by a generation of dominance. It was a successful revolt of the undeveloped western and coastal regions which were in need of a constructive governmental program against the political dominance of the more highly developed and conservative plantation Middle East whose interests made it the champion of governmental inactivity. To the banner of Andrew Jackson rallied the elements of protest and discontent, many who were captivated by his career and personality, and thousands who regarded him as a progressive, constructive leader in harmony with the nationalistic faction of the Republican party.

The social, economic, political and geographical cleavage revealed by the clash of opinions and interests in the campaign of 1824 closely resembled that which appeared a decade later in the alignment of the Whig and Democratic parties. The Whig-Democratic cleavage in North Carolina was different from that in the states of the lower South. In the lower South, the plantation slaveholding areas were centers of Whig strength; the upland small-farm areas, of Democratic. The opposite was true in North Carolina. A desire to understand the political division in North Carolina and the discovery of illuminating manuscript sources were the immediate stimuli for this study. In a subsequent monograph the author plans to describe the conditions which produced the Whig-Democratic alignment in the State.

This study is a revision of a doctoral dissertation at the University of Michigan where the late Professor Ulrich B. Phillips was my friend and teacher. I am grateful for the

urge to scholarship which his personality, example and guidance provided. I shall never forget his tolerance and appreciation of the completed study, of whose title and progress he had no previous knowledge. I am grateful also for the courteous aid of the staffs of the North Carolina Historical Commission and the libraries of the University of North Carolina and Duke University. To my wife Frances and my daughters, Jennie Wells and Julia Frances, I am indebted for their patience, stimulus, and assistance.

Chapel Hill, N. C.
June 4, 1938.

A. R. Newsome

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	Good Feelings *vs.* Conflicting Interests, 1815-1824	1
II.	The Early Campaign	45
III.	Crawford's Position Defended and Consolidated	62
IV.	The Formation of the People's Ticket	83
V.	The Crawford Campaign	102
VI.	The Calhoun Campaign	123
VII.	The Jackson Campaign	130
VIII.	The Adams Men in the Campaign	143
IX.	The Election	155
	Bibliography	174
	Index	187

List of Maps

Distribution of Slaves in North Carolina in 1820 162

The Presidential Election of 1824 in North Carolina 163

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THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824 IN NORTH CAROLINA

CHAPTER I

GOOD FEELINGS *VS.* CONFLICTING INTERESTS, 1815-1824

The United States emerged from the War of 1812 with a greater sense of independence and national consciousness than it had ever known. Proud of the record of the navy, exultant over the establishment of peace, and happy in economic prosperity, it turned its back on Europe and faced the already pressing or emerging national problems of tariff, internal improvements, banking, public lands, and slavery extension. The Republican party, chastened and changed by its experience of the past fourteen years, emerged triumphant from the war as the only organized national party. It had adopted Federalist principles and forced its discredited and disintegrating opponent to seek refuge in the strict construction principles which it in power had found impracticable. The leaders of the Republican party faced the problems of 1815 with something of the directness, youthful vigor, and nationalism of the War Hawks of 1811. In dealing with these problems they exercised under the constitution an unprecedented degree of power and encountered only scattered opposition. Economic prosperity, party harmony, and rampant nationalism made of Monroe's presidency, at least superficially, an "era of good feelings."

North Carolina shared in some degree the general outburst of self-conscious pride and national feeling following the war. Parsimony, partisan bitterness, provincialism, and conservatism had hitherto characterized the political life of the State.[1]

[1] The meager revenue, collected from an individualistic, tax-hating, and self-complacent population, had provided little beyond what was required to pay the minimum costs of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of government. The average annual expenditure from 1800 to 1812 was less than $70,000. W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 108.

But a sentiment of state pride and public spirit was awakened by the war, especially by the exploits of Otway Burns, Johnston Blakeley, and Benjamin Forsythe.[2] Peace brought delirious joy and celebration whose keynote was devotion to the common interest and promotion of the prosperity, happiness, and welfare of the Union.[3]

In state politics, the Republican party was in unchallenged control. Federalism, on the decline since the Revolution of 1800 and discredited by the war, existed only in unorganized survivals in scattered sections of the State.[4] There was a brief period of unprecedented harmony in state politics[5] and in the relations of the State to the national administration. To veteran Federalists, accustomed to bitter partisan warfare, it seemed that "implicit obedience to the will of the Administration is a leading article in the political creed of the Democrats

[2] Burns, who was in command of a merchant ship operating from New Bern at the outbreak of the war, had a successful career until 1814 with the privateer *Snap Dragon*. Blakeley, an adopted son of the State, commanded the United States sloop *Wasp* in its victories over the British brig *Reindeer* and sloop *Avon*. Forsythe, a native of Stokes County, rose to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the United States army and was active in military operations near the Great Lakes. In 1814, Blakeley's ship mysteriously disappeared with all on board, and Forsythe was slain in battle. The state legislature, stirred by pride and patriotism to a remarkable liberality, made Udney Maria, the infant daughter of Blakeley, a ward of the State, and during a period of years appropriated $8,100 for her education. It accorded similar though less liberal treatment to Forsythe's son, James. The same stimulus prompted the legislatures of 1815 and 1816 to instruct the governor to purchase a full-length statue and two full-length portraits of Washington. A. R. Newsome, "Udney Maria Blakeley," *North Carolina Historical Review*, IV (1927), 158-171; W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860*, 62-63; R. D. W. Connor, *Canova's Statue of Washington; Journal of the Senate*, Dec. 21, 1816; *Journal of the House of Commons*, Dec. 23, 1816; A. R. Newsome, "The Washington Portrait in the House of Representatives," *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Record*, II (1933), 12-15.

[3] *Raleigh Register*, Feb. 24, Mar. 3, July 7, 1815.

[4] H. M. Wagstaff, "Federalism in North Carolina," *The James Sprunt Historical Publications*, IX, no. 2. Hereafter the reference to this series will be *Sprunt Publications*. H. M. Wagstaff, "State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXIV, nos. 7-8.

[5] James Iredell to Mrs. James Iredell, Raleigh, Nov. 27, 1817, Johnson MSS.; A. D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, Raleigh, Nov. 30, 1817, W. H. Hoyt, ed., *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, I, 102. Hereafter the reference to this work will be *Murphey Papers*.

of this State. They are, at present, the perfect slaves of the party, without any sense of independence or any pretension to any opinion whatever, except those sanctioned by the Holy See."[6]

High-priced farm produce and cheap manufactures, incidental to the economic readjustment in Europe and America, brought unprecedented prosperity to agricultural North Carolina and the entire South and West.[7] The old towns of the State experienced a brisk and profitable trade,[8] new towns were projected, and speculation in farm lands became widespread.[9] The whole life of the State felt the stimulus of the new-found prosperity. Governor Branch, in his message to the legislature in 1818, referred to the "lethargy which has pervaded our state" in the past, but declared that in the "unparall[el]ed prosperity" of the present the "impulse from public sentiment is too strong to be mistaken, and requires only a proper organization and direction by the representatives of the people, to arrest the progress of emigration, and to render our State in an eminent degree prosperous, and our citizens contented and happy."[10]

The problems confronting North Carolina in 1815 were sufficiently numerous and complex to call forth all the resources of an awakened public spirit. The most acute need was improved transportation facilities. A pitiless Nature had all but isolated North Carolina from the seaways of the world.

[6] Copy of W. R. Davie to [?], Landsford, Catawba, Aug. 7, 1816, W. R. Davie MSS.

[7] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 18, 1817, message of Governor William Miller to the General Assembly.

[8] Twenty-five new stores were established in Raleigh in 1815. *The Star,* Nov. 10, 1815.

[9] Lots in Milton, a new town on the Dan River, sold for nearly $100 per front foot. In Haywood, a town site at the confluence of the Deep and Haw rivers, lots sold at $400 before the streets were cleared. They were expected to sell at from $500 to $1000 as soon as the clearing of the streets was completed. Actually, in September, 1818, they brought $1,350 each. *Murphey Papers,* I, 106-107; *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 17, 1818. After the sharp decline of prices in 1819, Governor Branch declared that during the past few years the notion had been developing that speculation and not labor is the source of wealth. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 17, 1819.

[10] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 18, 1818.

Cape Fear and Cape Hatteras proclaimed the dangers of its storm-swept coast. Sand-bars along the coast, penetrated only by inlets too shallow for the needs of ocean-borne trade,[11] made commerce hazardous, inconvenient, and expensive. The absence of even a single satisfactory ocean inlet prevented the development of an important market within the State. The navigation of the rivers that crossed the Piedmont and Coastal Plain was obstructed below and impossible above the fall line; and the rivers which drained the West were not navigable until they left North Carolina on their way to the sea through South Carolina or Tennessee. Hence the State was backward in commercial development; perhaps two-thirds of its meager trade was carried on through adjoining states. For its inadequate transportation facilities the State paid the heavy penalty of higher prices for what it bought, lower prices for what it sold, scarcity of capital, restricted trade, a regime of relative self-sufficiency, and a comparatively low standard of living. Moreover, economic dependence upon adjoining states, particularly Virginia, induced intellectual and political dependence which militated against the development of unity and public spirit. No phase of the life of the State escaped the paralyzing influence of inadequate transportation. The piedmont and mountain regions, utterly devoid of water transportation, were far more seriously penalized than the East whose rivers, though not adequate, were nevertheless very useful.

Constitutional reform was demanded by an increasing number of citizens after 1815. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, North Carolina had been the scene of a bitter political sectionalism between East and West. Before the Revolution it culminated in the Regulator movement[12] and the armed clash at Alamance in 1771. After the Revolution it

[11] The only inlet in use north of Cape Lookout was Ocracoke. Vessels drawing more than eight feet of water found it necessary to lighter in crossing the swash within the bar. For an elaborate survey of the transportation facilities, see [Archibald D. Murphey], "Memoir on the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina and on the Resources and Finances of that State," *Murphey Papers*, II, 103-195.

[12] John S. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina, 1765-1771," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1894*, 141-212.

manifested itself in an increasing demand from the growing, democratic, small-farm West for reform of the constitution of 1776, whose system of equal county representation in the General Assembly grossly discriminated against it in favor of the dominant, aristocratic, plantation and slaveholding East, which contained a greater number of counties. The reform movement was not particularly active in the prosperous years before 1819; but the injustice of the system of representation increased as the West continued to outgrow the East in population.[13]

Illiteracy and ignorance were widespread. The State had only one college, a few respectable academies, and no provision to diffuse even the most elementary education among the masses.[14] Stationary or declining property values and popular aversion to taxation made impossible an increase in public revenue sufficient to permit the launching of a state program of education and internal improvements; and the administration of even the meager revenue was not free from disorder, inefficiency, and corruption.[15]

The unattractive social, economic, and political conditions in North Carolina, together with the lure of greater opportunity, were causing the emigration of thousands of its most energetic citizens with their resources of mind, labor and capital to the frontier West and Southwest. The State dropped in population from third place in 1790 to fourth in 1820 and fifth in 1830.[16]

[13] W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 139 *et seq.;* W. K. Boyd, "Antecedents of the Convention of 1835," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* IX (1910), 83-93, 161-176.

[14] C. L. Coon, ed., *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840,* I, ix *et seq.* As late as 1840, "nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write." R. D. W. Connor, "John Motley Morehead: Architect and Builder of Public Works," *North Carolina Booklet,* XII (1912-13), 174.

[15] C. L. Coon, *op. cit.,* I, xvi; W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 83, 105 *et seq.*

[16] S. A. Ashe, *History of North Carolina,* II, 167, 244, 398; W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 83; James Graham to Thomas Ruffin, Vesuvius Furnace, Lincoln, Nov. 9, 1817, J. G. deR. Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin,* I, 198. Hereafter the reference to this work will be *Ruffin Papers.* If the Maine counties are included in Massachusetts, North Carolina ranked fourth in population in 1790.

The North Carolina which faced an accumulation of domestic problems after 1815 was a region diversified in physiography, needs, and interests. Its climate ranged from semi-tropical in the lower Cape Fear region to north temperate in the mountains of the West. The Coastal Plain stretching from the seacoast inland for 100 to 150 miles, the piedmont plateau between the Coastal Plain and the Blue Ridge, and the mountain region from the Blue Ridge to the Tennessee line are the most obvious geographical divisions. However, in the early nineteenth century, the prevailing economic needs and interests did not always coincide with this geographical division. The Piedmont and mountain region were alike without convenient water transportation, whereas the Coastal Plain possessed a network of semi-navigable inland sounds and rivers. Within the Coastal Plain itself, navigable sounds and shallow inlets served the northeastern or sound region, while rivers were of direct and chief importance to the middle eastern section extending across the State in the region of its greatest breadth. In the Middle East, the valleys of the Cape Fear and Roanoke possessed the best transportation facilities. There were areas between these rivers which were virtually without water transportation.

Climate, soil, and topography produced varying economic regimes and degrees of development within the State. The mountain region was condemned to a rude, self-sufficing, diversified, farm economy based on white labor. Small grains, sheep, cattle, fruit, vegetables, cheese, butter, tallow, beeswax, dried hams, ginseng, bear and stag skins, and whiskey were the chief products. Its meager trade was with distant markets in South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Virginia. Isolated and with a population density of less than five per square mile, it was essentially a frontier province.

In the more fertile and arable Piedmont, the regime of small farms was still dominant. But the spread of cotton and tobacco culture into its southern and northern counties, respectively, was changing gradually its social and economic life. The produce of the Piedmont was transported by land carriage to distant markets. Fayetteville and Weldon, near the head of navigation of the Cape Fear and Roanoke, respectively, drew some of the

trade; but Virginia and South Carolina towns attracted far more. On account of the obstructions at the falls of the Roanoke, the northern counties traded chiefly by land with Lynchburg, Petersburg, and Richmond; and the wagon routes of the southern Piedmont followed the valleys of the Broad, Yadkin, and Catawba to Camden, Columbia, and Charleston. In 1802 Michaux found in Morganton a warehouse supported by a Charleston firm; and at Lincolnton, two or three shops which sent their accumulations of local produce to Charleston.[17] The population density of the Piedmont was approximately the state average of twelve per square mile; but its slave density of twenty-five per cent of the total population was below the state average of thirty-two per cent.

The chief products of the sound region of the Coastal Plain were lumber, naval stores, corn, peas, pork, and bacon. Some of its commerce was dependent upon distant and shallow Ocracoke Inlet far to the South, though its chief market was Norfolk which was connected with Pasquotank River by the Dismal Swamp Canal, authorized in 1790 and opened before the War of 1812. The canal, however, was inadequate for vessels large enough to navigate safely the wide and exposed Albemarle Sound, unavailable as an avenue of commerce for the great valley region above the falls of the Roanoke, and objectionable because it attracted North Carolina trade to a Virginia market. The slave density of the sound region was approximately that of the average for the State.

The only extensive areas of staple crop production on a plantation basis were in the middle eastern region. The fertile Roanoke Valley along the northern boundary specialized in tobacco, with corn and wheat as important supplementary crops; and rice was the staple of the lower Cape Fear. Outside the tobacco and rice areas of the Middle East, pork, naval stores, corn, and wheat were the leading staples. Cotton was grown in the Middle East and to a less degree in the Piedmont; but in 1815 North Carolina stood last in the list of cotton produc-

[17] F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the West of the Alleghany Mountains, in the States of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and Back to Charleston, by the Upper Carolinas . . . in the Year 1802,* 265-266, 268-269. Hereafter the reference to this book will be Michaux, *Travels.*

ing states. Here and there in the Middle East, particularly in the southwestern portion, were sand barrens, ill-suited for any sort of profitable agriculture before the day of commercial fertilizer. The products of the northern counties, lying in the Roanoke and the upper Tar and Neuse valleys, were transported by water to Norfolk and by land to Lynchburg, Petersburg and Richmond. New Bern and Washington were the local markets of the Trent and the lower Tar and Neuse valleys; thence the produce was shipped through Ocracoke Inlet. Fayetteville and Wilmington were the markets of the Cape Fear Valley. On account of its outlet to the sea and its navigability as far inland as Fayetteville, the Cape Fear was the chief channel of commerce in the State before the railroad era. The exports from Wilmington regularly doubled or trebled those of all other North Carolina ports combined. South of the Cape Fear Valley, some produce was marketed in South Carolina by way of the Waccamaw, Little Peedee, and Lumber rivers. Throughout the Middle East, the slave density exceeded the state average, reaching above fifty per cent of the total population in the tobacco and rice regions. Viewing the State as a whole in 1815, the Middle East was more populous and more advanced in social and economic development than the mountain, piedmont, and sound regions.[18]

[18] The foregoing characterization of North Carolina is based on a variety of sources: R. H. Taylor, "Slaveholding in North Carolina: An Economic View," *Sprunt Publications,* XVIII, nos. 1-2; Guion Griffis Johnson, *Ante-bellum North Carolina, A Social History; North Carolina and Its Resources; Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Population and Social Statistics,* which contains the white, slave, and free colored population by counties for each decade from 1790 to 1870; F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* 47; [Archibald D. Murphey], "Memoir on the Internal Improvements Contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina and on the Resources and Finances of that State," and "Mr. Murphey's Report to the Legislature of North Carolina on Inland Navigation," Dec., 1816, *Murphey Papers,* II, 33-47, 103-195; A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties in 1810-1811," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 413-446, VI (1929), 67-99, 171-189, 281-309; F. A. Michaux, *Travels;* C. K. Brown, *A State Movement in Railroad Development. The Story of North Carolina's First Effort to Establish an East and West Trunk Line Railroad,* ch. 1; *Niles' Weekly Register,* X, 326-327, XII, 272; C. C. Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Series XXI, nos. 3-4; S. H. Hobbs,

The prosperous period from 1815 to 1819 was marked by an unprecedented public interest and legislative activity in the solution of state problems. In a series of reports to the General Assembly, Archibald D. Murphey, who best personified the new spirit, made a comprehensive analysis of conditions and exhibited a rare statesmanship in his plan for their improvement.[19] His plan was to provide an adequate and unified state system of land and water transportation, to build up local commercial centers and markets by the concentration of exportable products, and to reclaim the swamp lands of the East. His objectives were freedom from economic dependence on Virginia and South Carolina, a prosperous state, and a statewide public school system—a new North Carolina. The legislature was dilatory and unbusinesslike in embarking upon Murphey's plan; but by the end of 1819, after four years of legislative conflict and compromise, a state which had never spent a cent for internal improvements had employed an engineer, procured surveys of rivers and proposed canals, authorized subscriptions amounting to $112,500 to the stock of navigation and canal companies chiefly in the East, and created a fund for internal

North Carolina: Economic and Social; and *A Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of North Carolina on the Navigation of the Roanoke and its Branches,* by a Citizen of Pittsylvania.

For the distribution of slaves in 1820, *cf. infra,* 162. The State was almost wholly rural. In 1820, its seven chief towns had a total population of 16,331, of which 7,519 were white, 7,864 slave, and 948 free colored. New Bern, the largest town, had 3,663 inhabitants. The total population of the State was 638,829—419,200 whites, 205,017 slaves, and 14,612 free negroes.

[19] "Mr. Murphey's Report to the Legislature of North Carolina on Inland Navigation," Dec., 1816, *Murphey Papers,* II, 33-47; "Report on Education made to the General Assembly of North Carolina at its Session of 1816, by A. D. Murphey," *ibid.,* II, 49-56; "Report on Education submitted to the Legislature of North Carolina, 1817, by A. D. Murphey," *ibid.,* II, 63-83; "Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements," Dec. 2, 1817, *ibid.,* II, 83-84; "Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements," Dec. 4, 1817, *ibid.,* II, 84-85; "Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements," Dec. 8, 1817, *ibid.,* II, 85-87; "Report of the Commissioners appointed to employ a Principal Engineer for the State and to have Sundry Surveys made," Nov. 28, 1818, *ibid.,* II, 96-100; "Report of the Committee on Internal Improvements," Dec. 23, 1818, *ibid.,* 100-101; "Memoir on the Internal Improvements contemplated by the Legislature of North Carolina and on the Resources and Finances of that State," Nov., 1819, *ibid.,* II, 103-195.

improvements and a board of internal improvements to direct the newly adopted policy.[20]

In the conflict over the policy of internal improvements, considerations of local self-interest had produced definite sectional division in the State.[21] Though it is difficult to determine accurately the status of public opinion[22] on this leading state

[20] The history of the State's policy of internal improvements may be found outlined in W. K. Boyd, "The North Carolina Fund for Internal Improvements," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XV (1910), 52-67; J. Allen Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina—the Pre-Railroad Era (1776-1835)," *North Carolina Booklet*, X (1910), 122-154; C. C. Weaver, "Internal Improvements in North Carolina previous to 1860," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Series XXI, nos. 3-4.

Indispensable primary sources are Murphey's reports; *Journals of the Senate and House of Commons of the General Assembly of North Carolina*, 1816-1824; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1816-1824; manuscript collection of Legislative Papers in the North Carolina Historical Commission; and the following manuscript volumes in the North Carolina Historical Commission: Reports on the Internal Improvement of the State of North Carolina, 1819; A Journal of the Proceedings of the Commissioners of Navigation of North Carolina, 1819; A Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for Internal Improvements, 1820-1821; Reports to the Board of Internal Improvement, 1822; and Journal of the Board for Internal Improvements, 1821-1830, 1832-1835.

[21] Local self-interest was the determining factor in the cleavage. Conservatism, state pride, personalities, resentment at economic dependence upon Virginia and South Carolina, survivals of Federalism, and the old sectionalism of East and West over the issue of constitutional reform were doubtless of some influence. But the pronounced division of the East on the policy of internal improvements makes it clear that the issue of constitutional reform did not determine the alignment on internal improvements. Constitutional reform was regarded not as an end in itself but as a means to the achievement of practical ends which seemed beneficial or injurious according as the viewpoint was western or eastern. Internal improvements was a practical economic policy which developed in response to commercial needs long after the issue of constitutional reform had arisen; and it continued to agitate the State long after the achievement of constitutional reform in 1835.

[22] Only a few petitions to the General Assembly, chiefly from the West, asking aid for designated roads have been found in the manuscript collection of Legislative Papers from 1815 to 1825. Seldom was the issue discussed in the newspapers either by contributors or editors, though the proceedings of the meetings of the Board of Internal Improvements were published as news. Such rare comments as were made indicate support of the policy and delight at the prospects of state development. John Washington of Lenoir County advocated the adoption of a state policy of internal improvements in a letter to the editors of *The Star* in 1810. A. R. Newsome, "Twelve North Carolina Counties

issue, an analysis of the votes of the legislature on several

in 1810-1811," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VI (1929), 187-188. A 66-page pamphlet by a citizen of Pittsylvania County, Virginia, *A Letter to a Member of the General Assembly of North Carolina on the Navigation of the Roanoke and its Branches,* argued the benefits of internal improvements and advocated the opening of the Roanoke River system by a canal from the upper end of the "Great Falls, thence . . . to the Meherrin, thence by the Meherrin and Chowan rivers as far as Bennett's Creek, thence up the creek as far as it is navigable, thence by a canal to Lake Drummond, thence by another canal to the Dismal Swamp Canal, and thence by Elizabeth River to Norfolk." Two editorials of the *Blakeley Gazette,* setting forth the pressing need of the West for water transportation, were reprinted in the *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 1 and 22, 1819. For other brief favorable comment, see *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 8, 1815, Aug. 27, 1819, Feb. 7, 1823; *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 11, 1820, quoting *Cape Fear Recorder; Raleigh Register,* October 10, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer; The Star,* June 13, 1823; *Raleigh Minerva,* Feb. 25, Mar. 24, 1820. Notice of only one public meeting in the interest of internal improvements has been encountered. *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 31, 1823. At formal Fourth of July celebrations it was customary to include among the toasts one to internal improvements in the State. Each governor in his annual message called briefly to the attention of the legislature the importance of the problem along with many others. Seldom was it a topic in the correspondence of the period. Many of its friends believed that Murphey's elaborate plan was too grand and magnificent for a North Carolina legislature. J. B. Skinner to James Iredell, Raleigh, Dec. 5, 1815, Johnson MSS.; Archibald D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, Raleigh, Dec. 22, 1816, *Murphey Papers,* I, 91; W. N. Edwards to Thomas Ruffin, Washington City, Dec. 9, 1816, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 185. But a correspondent of *The Star,* Oct. 13, 1815, who did not describe his itinerary, believed that the public feeling of the State was awake, for "go where I will or talk on what I may, I am almost sure to hear the topic of Inland Navigation started"; and Governor Branch expressed the same belief in his message to the legislature of 1818. *Journal of the House of Commons,* November 18, 1818. If this belief was correct, the legislatures of 1815-1818 failed to enact the desired legislation. Not until 1819 were the friends of internal improvements able to secure the adoption of a systematic policy, which fell far short of their wishes.

It cannot be determined how much influence the motive of personal gain had in the promotion of the policy by its many friends, including Murphey, who were private investors in the navigation companies and in real estate whose value the improvements would enhance.

After the panic of 1819, there were occasional indications that internal improvements were becoming "unpopular amongst the people at large." *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 13, 1824; *Catawba Journal,* Dec. 7, 1824. However, in the same year, the people of the Cape Fear Valley were reported as strongly in favor of the policy. Louis D. Henry to John H. Bryan, Fayetteville, Nov. 27, 1824, John H. Bryan Papers, I, 94. In the prosperous period before the panic, the general public was doubtless glad to learn of the Murphey plan which promised to revolutionize conditions in the State; but when hard times came in 1819, when much

representative proposals of state-wide policy is illuminating.[23]

The West, which was in acute need of roads and improved rivers and would profit by better navigation of the tidewater rivers, cast a large majority of its votes in favor of internal improvements; while the more wealthy East, which would have to bear the greater share of expense and was in less need of the improvements, cast a majority, though in lesser ratio, in opposition. The towns, destined to profit by any development of commerce, gave strong support to the policy.[24]

The only portion of the West which showed a tendency

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of the money appropriated for the early projects was wasted through mismanagement, and when it was realized that internal improvements meant taxation, the public lapsed into its accustomed suspicion of new-fangled schemes.

[23] In this study, a line following the western boundaries of Granville, Wake, Cumberland and Robeson counties is chosen somewhat arbitrarily for the division of the State into East and West.

An analysis has been made of the votes in the House of Commons on the following proposals relating to state-wide policy: (1) a bill to adopt the recommendations of Murphey's first report, Dec. 12, 1815; (2) a bill to create an internal improvement fund, Dec. 12, 1817; (3) a bill to create a Fund for Internal Improvements and a Board of Internal Improvements, Dec. 20, 1819; (4) a bill to increase the Fund for Internal Improvements, Dec. 26, 1821; and (5) a bill to repeal the act of 1821 providing an additional fund for internal improvements, Dec. 21, 1822.

The first two proposals resulted in defeats and the remaining three in victories for the friends of internal improvements. The votes on the two early proposals reveal a division of sentiment more widespread geographically than on the last three, suggesting that at this time opinion was in process of crystallization. Nevertheless, the votes on all five proposals reveal a rather definite sectional alignment in the State. The following tabulation of the votes of the East and West on these five proposals is arranged with the idea of showing the attitude of the two sections toward the state issue of internal improvements:

	West		*East*	
Proposals	*For*	*Against*	*For*	*Against*
1	27	18	25	55
2	28	12	27	47
3	41	8	31	46
4	34	12	28	39
5	32	14	32	48

[24] The borough representatives of Fayetteville and Halifax voted for internal improvements in all five cases analyzed in *supra*, note 23; those of Salisbury and Hillsborough, in four; Wilmington and New Bern, in three; and Edenton, in two. Only four opposition votes were cast from the six boroughs on all five proposals.

toward consistent opposition was the southeastern corner within reach of Fayetteville—the region of Randolph, Chatham, Montgomery, Moore, Anson, and Richmond counties.

In the East, the two districts of strongest and most consistent opposition were the region of Albemarle Sound and the block of inland counties of the Middle East between the Cape Fear and Roanoke valleys. The Albemarle region possessed excellent facilities for local trade; and its chief market, Norfolk, was relatively near and accessible by way of the Dismal Swamp Canal. It would profit only indirectly by the state program of improving the rivers which lay to the westward or far to the southwestward. The chief desire of the sound region was an ocean inlet to Albemarle Sound. Though surveys were made under state direction, the practicability of a new inlet was so uncertain and the expense so great that the legislature did not attempt its construction. The Albemarle region looked with hope to the federal rather than the state government for the construction of the inlet. The region between the Cape Fear and Roanoke valleys possessed fair facilities in its local rivers and markets and was not located advantageously for direct profit from the improvement of the Cape Fear and Roanoke, whose navigation companies seemed to have the ear of the state government. In the East, outside the two regions of consistent opposition, opinion was rather generally divided, though strong support was manifested in the districts adjacent to the projects whose success was most likely—improvement of the Roanoke and Cape Fear rivers and a canal from the Neuse River to Beaufort.

The needy West, aided by districts in the East whose economic interest would be promoted thereby, had committed North Carolina to a systematic policy of internal improvements.

In federal affairs, North Carolina manifested evidences of nationalism during the prosperous period before 1819, though there was pronounced opposition to the nationalistic program of the young Republicans. Calhoun's bill of 1816 for chartering the second United States Bank was opposed in the North Carolina delegation only by the members holding Federalist

principles and by Nathaniel Macon, the hopelessly unreconstructed Republican.[25]

The federal issue of internal improvements, which had become a major question in Congress, provoked serious division in the North Carolina delegation. In the Senate and House it divided equally in its vote on Calhoun's Bonus Bill for the establishment of a permament fund for internal improvements. The Federalists, together with the representatives from the West and the Albemarle Sound region, supported it; while those from the more highly developed plantation Middle East voted in opposition.[26] In March. 1818, the Republican delegation of North Carolina in the House was virtually a unit in opposition to four resolutions, submitted by Lowndes of South Carolina, which provoked an important debate on the constitutionality of federal internal improvements. These resolutions asserted the power of Congress to appropriate money for the construction of military roads, other roads, and canals, and for the improvement of water courses; to construct post roads and military roads; to construct roads and canals necessary to interstate commerce; and to construct canals for military purposes. Only Mumford of Rowan County, long a region of Federalist strength, and Slocumb, a Federalist from Wayne, supported the resolutions, all of which except the first were defeated by close margins.[27] During the same session, the delegation also opposed a resolution, which passed by a large majority, that the Secretaries of War and the Treasury report plans to the next session for applying available funds to internal improvements.[28]

The North Carolina delegates opposed to the federal policy of internal improvements, chief among whom was Macon, based their opposition on the strict construction philosophy that Congress had no power under the constitution to legislate upon the subject. But Macon made clear to his friends the real reason for his opposition. To Bartlett Yancy of Caswell, who had

[25] *Annals of Congress,* 14 Cong., 1 sess., 281, 1219.
[26] *Annals of Congress,* 14 Cong., 2 sess., 191, 934.
[27] *Ibid.,* 15 Cong., 1 sess., 1385, 1386, 1388; *A Manual of North Carolina,* 1913, 921.
[28] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 1 sess., 1649, 1679.

shown a disposition to act with the young Republicans, he wrote:

> If Congress can make canals, they can with more propriety emancipate. . . . Let not love of improvements or a thirst for glory blind that sober discretion and sound sense with which the Lord has blessed you. . . . Your error in this will injure if not destroy our beloved mother, North Carolina, and all the South country. . . . Be not led astray by grand notions or magnificent opinions; remember you belong to a meek state and just people, who want nothing but to enjoy the fruits of their labor honestly and to lay out their profits in their own way.[29]

Macon already believed that a struggle over slavery was impending and that the constitution, literally construed, was the chief bulwark of the agricultural, slaveholding South.[30] Some Republicans like Madison and Monroe, who believed in the desirability but not the constitutionality of internal improvements, thought that the power of the government on the subject should be defined by a constitutional amendment; but most of the friends of internal improvements were not willing to risk defeat of such an amendment and thereby the loss of the power they claimed under the constitution.

Moreover, according to Macon, the federal government was constantly draining the South of its money, for "nearly all the federal taxes collected there are paid for the interest of the public debt, or laid out to the north of the James River."[31] If Congress had complete power to make improvements

> would it be the interest of N. C. for Congress to undertake it; would she not . . . pay vastly more for improvements in other

[29] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Apr. 15, 1818, W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 310. *Cf.* Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 8, 1818, *James Sprunt Historical Monographs,* no. 2, 48. Hereafter the reference to this series will be *Sprunt Monographs.*

[30] "We have abolition, colonizing, bible and peace societies . . . and if the general government shall continue to stretch their powers, these societies will undoubtedly push them to try the question of emancipation. . . . Under a fair and honest construction of the constitution the negro property is safe and secure. . . . The camp that is not always guarded may be surprised." Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Mar. 8, 1818, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 48-49.

[31] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1821, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 59.

states, than would or I might say could properly be laid out in her; . . . to make us pay for the improvements of others, has not appeared right or just to me, admitting the power in Congress, which however is denied, I pray you to examine and re-examine the constitution on these very interesting points.[32]

If the federal government can do whatever it deems expedient for the general welfare, "the rights of a minority are at the will of majority."[33] Macon's position on the issue was determined by what he conceived to be the present and future interest of the South, his State, and his own section of the State—the Middle East.[34]

Yet in 1813 and 1814, Macon together with King of Sampson and Murfree of Chowan had presented to the House petitions from eastern North Carolina for federal aid in establishing inland water communication from Chesapeake Bay to the St. Mary's River.[35] In December, 1818, neither Macon nor any other North Carolinian in Congress objected to the passage of a resolution directing a survey of "certain parts of the coast of North Carolina";[36] and early in 1820 Macon secured from the President the promise of a survey of an ocean inlet to Albemarle Sound.[37] To the general policy of internal improvements from which North Carolina on account of its geographical position might not profit, the representatives of the State were opposed; but if Congress would make improvements in North Carolina, they would lay aside their devotion

[32] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 26, 1824, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 72-73.

[33] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 25, 1824, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 3, 82.

[34] In 1820, John Quincy Adams characterized Macon as "a sort of political Walter Shandy." He "is a stern Republican, who has been about twenty-five years without interruption in Congress—a man of small parts and mean education, but of rigid integrity, and a blunt, though not offensive, deportment." Due to his integrity, indefatigable attention to business, and long experience, Macon was an influential senator. "He votes against all claims and all new appropriations. Nothing takes with the people like this stubborn opposition to expense." C. F. Adams, *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams,* V, 40, 204. Hereafter the reference will be Adams, *Memoirs.*

[35] *Annals of Congress,* 13 Cong., 2 sess., 813, 1767.

[36] *Ibid.,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., 59, 429.

[37] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Apr. 19, 1820, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 53.

to strict construction and support the policy. They invoked strict construction as a convenient basis of opposition to measures inimical to the interest of their constituents.

In the years after 1815 there was some indication that the federal government might undertake the construction of an ocean inlet to Albemarle Sound. This was the fundamental need of the Albemarle region, whose commerce must be carried on the long, expensive, and dangerous route far to the south through Ocracoke Inlet or through the inadequate Dismal Swamp Canal to Norfolk. The new inlet was a part of Murphey's plan, and from 1816 the State maintained an interest in the project. But the expense, as estimated by the state engineer, was prohibitive. The legislature did nothing more than authorize the formation of a private company to open the inlet.[38]

From the beginning there was a disposition to look to the federal government for the new inlet. The legislature

[38] A partial survey was made in 1816 by Capt. Clarke, who was employed by commissioners authorized by the legislature of 1815. The importance of the project to the State was emphasized in the messages of Governors Miller and Branch in 1817 and 1818, respectively. Hamilton Fulton, employed in 1819 as Principal Engineer of the State, made a thorough survey in 1820 and reported to the Board of Internal Improvements that it was practicable to open a navigable inlet by cutting off "all communication between Albemarle Sound and Pamlico, by Embankments across Croatan and Roanoke Sounds." The estimated cost was $1,157,186 if the embankments were made of timber and earth, and $2,363,483 if made of stone. The legislature of 1821 authorized the formation of the Roanoke Inlet Company, with a capitalization of $200,000, to complete a navigable inlet of ten feet depth within ten years. The company was empowered to collect tolls of all vessels passing through the inlet and in case of a vessel failing to make payment, to collect double toll in any federal court. The Governor was instructed to request the North Carolina congressmen to secure the consent of Congress to the provisions of the act and also federal aid. The act was futile. Governor Holmes was so interested in the inlet and so confident that it could be made for one-fifth of Fulton's estimate, that he sought privately through James Iredell of Edenton to have a survey made at private expense in 1824 with a view of presenting the project to the legislature. Journal of the Board of Internal Improvements, 1820-1821, 3, 28, 31, 62-64, 86-101; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 18, 1817, Nov. 18, 1818, Nov. 19, 1823; *Laws of North Carolina,* 1821, ch. 23; *Murphey Papers,* II, 113-120, 126-130; J. C. Johnston to James Iredell, Raleigh, Aug. 2, 1821, and Gabriel Holmes to James Iredell, Raleigh, July 10, 1824, Johnson MSS.

of 1815 declared it to be "an object of general national interest" and requested the North Carolina congressmen to prevail upon the government to undertake the work.[39] A year later the Senate Committee on Inland Navigation recommended that the legislature petition for federal aid.[40] In 1818 the Secretary of the Treasury made an inquiry as to the progress of internal improvements in the State, with the intimation of probable co-operation by the federal government;[41] and in the same year Congress directed that a survey be made of certain parts of the coast of North Carolina.[42] In January, 1819, Secretary of War Calhoun presented to Congress a report proposing a line of inland navigation from Boston to Savannah;[43] and in April, Monroe, accompanied by Calhoun and a detachment of army engineers, traversed the State on a tour of inspection of the southern coast. They visited Edenton, the marshes between Albemarle and Pamlico sounds, Roanoke Island, Nag's Head, Plymouth, New Bern, and Wilmington, and expressed great interest in the proposal of opening an inlet to Albemarle Sound. They were accorded everywhere a great ovation. Calhoun was toasted as "the able advocate of internal improvement."[44] The sound region rejoiced in the expectancy that the federal government would solve its greatest need. "We feel satisfied that whatever aid can be properly afforded by the General Government towards this most desirable object, will be cheerfully rendered."[45] In the spring of 1820, in fulfillment of the President's promise to Macon a few weeks before, a board of engineers was ordered to begin a survey of the coast of North Carolina, particularly in regard to "opening or deepening the Inlet into Albemarle Sound"; and the State was invited to co-

[39] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 16, 1815; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 18, 1815.

[40] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 9, 1816.

[41] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 18, 1818, message of Governor John Branch.

[42] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., 59, 429.

[43] "Report on Roads and Canals, communicated to the House of Representatives, January 14, 1819," R. K. Crallé, *Works of John C. Calhoun,* V, 40-54.

[44] *Carolina Sentinel,* May 1, 1819; *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 23, 1819.

[45] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 23, 1823, communication from Edenton.

operate in the survey.[46] The Board of Internal Improvements ordered Fulton to join the federal engineers, but they had departed before he arrived.[47]

However, Calhoun sent to Governor Branch the report of the board of engineers. It was substantially in agreement with Fulton's report as to the practicability of forming the inlet by embankments of stone separating Albemarle and Pamlico sounds and as to his estimate of its cost. One serious objection was urged: the eventual formation of a bar opposite the mouth of the inlet which would prevent access of vessels of proper draught. Regarding the relation of the inlet to the interest of the nation, the report stated that "if the plan be carried into successful execution, whether we consider the profits of commerce, the dangers of shipwreck, pursuit by an enemy, or convenience as a point of departure and refreshments for our own Privateers & Vessels of War, a Harbor will be formed precisely in that part of the coast where it is most needed."[48] The visit of Monroe and Calhoun in 1819, the rather encouraging report of the board of engineers, and Calhoun's instruction to Captain Elliott in 1820 that buoys be placed at the inlets where needed,[49] encouraged in North Carolina the hope of federal aid. The Board of Internal Improvements recommended again in 1821 that the legislature ask Congress for aid. The national importance of the inlet and the just claims of North Carolina for a portion of the federal expenditures were thought sufficient to secure assistance.[50] The next year, in a provision of the act relative to the Roanoke Inlet Company, the Governor was instructed to request the congressmen to secure the consent of Congress to the act and also financial assistance from the federal government, although the State itself had not pur-

[46] John C. Calhoun to Governor John Branch, Washington, Apr. 12, 1820, copy in A Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for Internal Improvements, 1820-1821, 24.

[47] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 21, May 19, June 9, 1820.

[48] A copy of the report may be found in A Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for Internal Improvements, 1820-1821, 159-166.

[49] *Raleigh Register,* July 14, 1820.

[50] "Report of the President and Directors of the Board for Internal Improvements to the Honorable General Assembly at their Session in 1821," Legislative Papers, 1821.

chased any shares of stock in the company.[51] In 1824, during the debate on the tariff bill, Senator Branch proposed an amendment, perhaps with sarcastic intent, "appropriating $500,000 for opening a direct communication from Albemarle Sound to the Atlantic Ocean."[52]

In 1819, Calhoun, in a report to Congress, urged the need of a national system of internal improvements among which should be a "durable and well-finished road" from Maine to Louisiana, as well as the line of inland navigation from Boston to Savannah.[53] It was likely, of course, that the road, if constructed, would traverse the central or piedmont section of North Carolina which needed improved transportation.

There is reason to believe that within the State the federal policy of internal improvements was more popular than the votes of the North Carolina delegates in Congress indicate. Orators in Congress might spin fine constitutional arguments and see in the dim future a menace to the South in the doctrine of implied powers; but the mass of people generally was more concerned with the present and cared little for the constitutional distinctions between the state and federal policies of internal improvements.[54] Secretary of War Calhoun had urged a national road and a line of inland navigation, and the Albemarle inlet was under consideration. The first project was of concern to the West, and the other two to the sound region. The West wanted internal improvements by the State or by the federal government, or better still, by both. Already it was in the habit of sending representatives to Raleigh who supported the policy and secured results in the form of appropriations for roads. If additional aid could be secured at Wash-

[51] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1821, ch. 23; Gabriel Holmes to North Carolina Congressmen, Mar. 29, 1822, Letter Book, 1822-24, Gov. Holmes.

[52] *Annals of Congress,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., 765. The State had also sought federal aid in improving the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington. *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 30, 1822.

[53] R. K. Crallé, *The Works of John C. Calhoun,* V, 40-54.

[54] "The spirit of Internal Improvement is awakened, and not a mail reaches us but brings some new proof of it. . . . If Congress cannot act upon the subject, we are glad to find the People do not wait for Acts of Congress, but take the good work efficiently in hand." *Raleigh Register,* July 31, 1818.

ington, so much the better for the West. "Internal Improvements—The sure index of national greatness" was a toast given at a Fourth of July celebration in Rutherfordton in 1823;[55] and a similar favorable sentiment was expressed in August at a dinner in Asheville honoring Dr. R. B. Vance, who had just been elected as the representative of the western district in Congress.[56] As for the sound region, its opposition to the state program was strong only because the state program had done and promised to do little or nothing for its direct benefit. Looking to Washington and not Raleigh for the Albemarle inlet, the sound region was in favor of the federal policy of internal improvements.

Though divided on the issue of internal improvements, the North Carolina delegation in Congress was united in opposition to the tariff. The tariff bill of 1816 was reported by a committee whose majority was southern and advocated by Calhoun and other southerners as a means of national defence and economic independence, and perhaps in a belief that it might stimulate industrial development in the South. Many congressmen from the prosperous South were willing to give aid to the New Englanders, whose industry was threatened by English manufactures, especially when that aid seemed to be to the interest of the nation as a whole. The measure was not generally regarded as sectional or partisan. However, North Carolina, alone among all the states in the Union, did not cast a single vote in favor of the tariff of 1816.[57] No evidence has been encountered that the tariff was a subject of discussion among the people of the State.

Congress and the executive after 1815 had come to accept in a large measure the doctrine of implied powers and to sponsor a nationalistic program; but this was not the case with the majority of the North Carolina delegation, even in the high tide of nationalism. The conspicuously obstructive attitude of the state delegation was due partly to the influence of Macon and partly to a growing conviction that the tariff and internal improvement projects were detrimental to the

[55] *Western Carolinian,* Aug. 19, 1823.
[56] *Ibid.,* Sept. 9, 1823.
[57] *Annals of Congress,* 14 Cong., 1 sess., 331, 1352.

interest of North Carolina and the South. Both programs involved an acceptance of the doctrine of implied powers which might lead to an attack on negro slavery. The tariff would drain agricultural North Carolina of its capital without resulting in compensating advantages; and internal improvements would draw more money from the State than would be returned in the form of improvement projects, most of which by force of geography would be located elsewhere.

There was a difference in the State's attitude toward these two issues. The tariff appeared to hold little possibility of direct advantage; but to the undeveloped West and the sound region, both of which were in sore need of transportation and markets, a national program of internal improvements might bring direct advantages in the form of an ocean inlet and roads or canals, which would more than offset the drain of taxation and the remote danger to negro slavery and plantation industry, which was not dominant in these sections as in the Middle East. Hence the North Carolina delegation was solidly opposed to the tariff. But, with respect to internal improvements, there was division; and such support as this policy received was in the West and the sound region.

Macon's fears of an impending struggle over slavery, expressed as early as 1818, appeared to be realized a year later in the contest over the extension of slavery involved in the admission of Missouri as a state. Macon opposed restriction both on the admission of a state and on the extension of slavery, defended slavery as beneficial to an inferior in the presence of a superior race, and believed that the entire Louisiana purchase should be left open to any settlers from the South.[58] The North Carolina delegation, as well as that of every other southern state, was unanimous for the admission of Missouri as a slave state;[59] but it divided, six to six, on the vote in the House to insert in the bill in lieu of the state restriction

[58] W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 317-326. Crawford, in a private discourse during the debate in Congress, said that the value of the Union was doubtful if slavery was to be attacked. J. E. D. Shipp, *Giant Days or The Life and Times of William H. Crawford,* 168. Hereafter the reference to this biography will be Shipp, *Life of Crawford.*

[59] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1586.

the clause inhibiting slavery in the territory north of 36° 30′. The ayes were from the West; while the opposition, with the exception of Walker of Haywood, was from the slaveholding East.[60] The views of Senator Montfort Stokes, though differing widely from those of Macon, were probably more representative of those held by his six friends in the House from the West. He believed that Congress had power under the constitution to exclude slavery from an unsettled territory but none to place restrictions upon the admission of a state. Convinced that a majority of the House of Representatives favored the exclusion of slavery from all the territory west of the Mississippi and that only by compromise could Missouri enter the Union without restriction, he regarded the final arrangement as a "prudent and proper concession" by which the South secured the region south of 36° 30′ "as an asylum for Slaves already too numerous to be comfortably supported in some of the Southern States" and by which

> we shall quiet the minds of many people who have already been excited by bad men to commit the most daring acts of injustice and outrage: And although I cannot respect members of Congress who in violation of their obligations to the Constitution are endeavoring to enforce this restriction upon the free people of Missouri; yet I do and always shall have a charitable and respectful regard for the feelings, and even the prejudices of that great portion of the people of the Northern States who are averse to Slavery in any shape; and who would heartily join with us in any constitutional measure to get rid of the evil.[61]

Although the debates in Congress seemed to excite many of the participants and public men of the country,[62] there is little evidence that they produced much popular excitement in North Carolina. Neither the people nor the newspapers ex-

[60] *Ibid.*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1587.

[61] Montfort Stokes to Governor Branch, Washington, Feb. 27, 1820, Governors' Papers, State Series, XLIX. Stokes's letter was published in the *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 17, 1820.

[62] *Ibid.* Stokes said most of the speeches in both houses of Congress were not listened to, that they were intended by the speakers for home consumption.

pressed alarm.[63] Macon predicted that the slavery question would influence the election of 1824;[64] but the people of North Carolina were more interested in social and economic problems and in constitutional reform than in slavery extension.

The panic of 1819 fell athwart the Missouri controversy and brought to an abrupt end the abnormal prosperity of the agricultural West and South.[65] Throughout the country enormous numbers of persons were bankrupted. Calhoun observed that this immense revolution in economic status had produced a widespread suspicion of governmental mismanagement and a "mass of disaffection to the Government, not concentrated in any particular direction, but ready to seize upon any event and looking out anywhere for a leader."[66] The panic administered a rude check to the nationalistic spirit and stimulated the rise of a more pronounced sectionalism based on local self-interest.

North Carolina shared fully the disasters of 1819. Governor Branch in his message to the legislature declared that the agricultural and commercial parts of the population were "borne down by an unprecedented depression of prices unparallelled in the history of our times."[67] Land values fell, state revenue decreased, and great numbers of people were ruined financially by foreclosures and imprisonment, when unable to meet the obligations incurred in a period of prosperity and optimism. The period of distress continued beyond the election of 1824.[68]

[63] Some of the speeches in Congress but only a few public letters and editorials were published in the newspapers. The *Minerva* expressed its belief in the constitutional power of Congress to place restrictions on the admission of a state and its opposition to the extension of slavery. The *Register* opposed restriction. *Raleigh Minerva,* Dec. 10, 1819, Jan. 28, Feb. 11, 25, Mar. 3, 10, 17, 1820; *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 3, 10, 17, 1820.

[64] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1823, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 67; W. E. Dodd, *op. cit.,* 327.

[65] F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* ch. 9.

[66] Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 128.

[67] Letter Book, 1818-20, Gov. Branch, 348.

[68] The total state revenue declined from $209,913.47 in 1818 to $114,-339.40 in 1824. "Reports of John Haywood, Public Treasurer," *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 1, 1818, Nov. 23, 1819, Nov. 23, 1820, Nov. 26, 1821, Nov. 26, 1822, Nov. 22, 1823, Nov. 19, 1824. A portion

The general distress raised into bold relief a conflict between the creditor and debtor classes and kindled the latent popular antagonism to banks whose policies had contributed to the pecuniary embarrassments of the times. In 1816 the legislature had requested the establishment of a branch of the United States Bank within the State.[69] Two years later it laid a tax of $5,000 on the branch bank at Fayetteville;[70] and the Public Treasurer attempted to collect the tax after the Supreme Court of the United States had rendered its opinion in the case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland.[71] The bank was called a "Colossus" whose vast power was a menace to state rights.[72] The state banking interests were hostile to the United States Bank. A committee of the stockholders of the State Bank of North Carolina, in conference with a select joint committee of the General Assembly of 1817, declared that "without attributing to this Bank premeditated Hostility, its Operations will be found to be very oppressive and injurious to all State Banks, and to none more so, than those of North Carolina."[73] The president of the branch bank was elected in 1820 to represent Fayetteville in the House of Commons; but he was so bitterly attacked in the campaign as an enemy of the state banks that he considered it necessary to defend himself in a

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of this decrease was due to a reduction in the property tax in 1818 from 8c to 6c per $100 valuation; but there was a rather steady decline in land values. In Person County, the land valuation dropped from $582,134 in 1818 to $497,833 in 1823 and $527,219 in 1824; in Franklin, from $867,119 in 1818 to $684,337 in 1824; and in Halifax, from $1,923,360 in 1818 to $1,785,453 in 1824. Franklin County Records, List of Taxables, 1804-1822, 1823-1836; Halifax County Records, Tax Book, 1784-1834; Person County Records, Wills, Inventories, Sales of Estates and Taxables, 1817-1820, 1823-1827.

[69] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 11, 1816; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1816.

[70] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1818, ch. 7; Charles Warren, *The Supreme Court in United States History,* I, 505-506.

[71] John Haywood to John A. Cameron, Raleigh, Oct. 1, 1819, Legislative Papers. In his reply to Haywood's letter, Cameron cited the case of McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, expressed surprise that the State was attempting to enforce the act, and announced that "we must decline paying the tax." Available evidence does not indicate whether this act was primarily for revenue or an attack on the bank.

[72] *Raleigh Minerva,* Nov. 12, 1819, communication signed "Carolinus."

[73] *Murphey Papers,* II, 90.

public letter.[74] In the legislature of 1820, an attempt was made to pass a resolution declaring that the influence of the branch bank had been disappointing, expressing hostility to the destruction of the state banks by drains of specie made by a bank owned principally by foreigners, and requesting the directors to remove the bank from the State as soon as practicable.[75] A year later attempts were made to ascertain the amounts of specie drawn by it from the state banks, and to tax North Carolinians who owned its stock and also the tenements of any banking institutions not chartered by the legislature.[76]

After 1819, there was hostility also toward the three state banks in North Carolina: the State Bank of North Carolina at Raleigh, the Bank of New Bern, and the Bank of the Cape Fear at Wilmington. The total authorized capital of the three banks had increased rapidly from $450,000 in 1804 to $3,200,000 in 1814. This increase did not represent an equal increase in specie. Payment for a portion of the increased capitalization was made by individual subscribers in personal notes and bank notes and by the State in treasury notes. Stimulated by the popular demand and by their charters which permitted an indebtedness of thrice the capital stock, the banks expanded their note issues in the era of speculation prior to 1819. In that year, the notes in circulation amounted to $3,850,099.[77]

When the bubble of inflation and speculation was pricked in 1819, there was a rapid return of the state bank notes for redemption in specie. So rapid was the drain that the banks were confronted with the necessity of suspending specie payment or of calling on their debtors for the payment of loans. They called in some of their loans; but, rather than spread disaster throughout the State by pressing an embarrassed citizenship, they decided to refuse specie to brokers only. In real-

[74] *Raleigh Minerva,* July 7, 1820, quoting *Fayetteville Gazette* (the *Blakeley Gazette* had recently moved to Fayetteville and taken the name *Fayetteville Gazette. Raleigh Minerva,* Jan. 28, 1820).

[75] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1820.

[76] *Journal of the Senate,* Nov. 28, Dec. 25, 27, 1821; Legislative Papers, 1821.

[77] "Report of the Bank Committee," *Journal of the Senate,* 1819, 121-124; W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 119-121.

ity, specie payment was suspended because the distinction between brokers and others was too minute to be observed. Brokers secured judgments in the courts forcing payment in specie; and the banks had to close their doors or increase their amounts of hard money. In their efforts to secure specie without calling in their loans, the banks resorted to objectionable and questionable practices.[78] The suspension of specie payment, together with the "innumerable bankruptcies and insolvencies of individuals," struck terror into the hearts of thousands and generated an anti-bank movement.[79]

Governor John Branch led in the outcry against the state banks as partly responsible for the debased condition of the circulating medium and the price fluctuations which had plunged many citizens into poverty and jail.

> The Banks . . . in . . . their inordinate solicitude for the dividend, have led the citizens of our once happy country into the wilds and mazes of speculative life. . . . So long as it is in the power of the Banks to increase or diminish the currency of the country at their pleasure . . . so long shall we be liable to a recurrence of similar embarrassments. . . . They have embosomed in their vaults or driven from the country all the specie, and the notes which have been substituted instead thereof, not being convertible into gold and silver, the country presents the melancholy spectacle of a people deeply involved in debt without a legitimate circulating medium. Never indeed have our citizens experienced such a pressure and unless something is done for their relief they must inevitably fall as prey to the iron grasp of their unrelenting creditors.[80]

He urged upon the legislature of 1819 the peculiar propriety of a revision of the insolvent laws, especially the abolition of imprisonment for debt, at a time "when from the crowded dockets of the several courts and the unexampled difficulty that is experienced in obtaining the means for the discharge of debts, so large a portion of the community is likely to fall within their provisions."[81]

[78] W. K. Boyd, *op. cit.*, 122-127; *Journal of the Senate*, 1819, 121-124.
[79] *Raleigh Minerva*, Nov. 12, 1819, a communication signed "Carolinus."
[80] *Journal of the House of Commons*, Nov. 17, 1819.
[81] *Ibid.*

Though attempts were made in the legislature to secure debtor relief and bank regulation,[82] no law relative to either was passed.

Reinforced by the effect of a year's distress which had "elicited more feeling and . . . more intemperate discussion than every other subject."[83] Governor Branch returned in 1820 to a more vigorous attack on the banks and the oppressive, antiquated insolvent laws. "It is but too manifest that we have at this time a conflict of sentiment, generated by that inveterate hostility which has ever been found to exist between creditor and debtor." He ascribed much of the current distress to the

[82] Bills were introduced for the temporary suspension of executions against debtors, to exempt women from imprisonment for debt, to prohibit the recovery by creditors of more than 6% interest, to require the supply of food for not more than 20 days to persons imprisoned for debt, and to authorize an issue of treasury notes. *Journal of the Senate*, Dec. 9, 10, 13, 16, 1819; *Journal of the House of Commons*, Dec. 13, 14, 17, 18, 21, 1819; Legislative Papers, 1819. A select joint committee to investigate the condition of the state banks made an apologetic report that the banks had violated their charters only in suspending specie payment and that in regard to suspension, the circumstances appeared to "extenuate the conduct of the banks." The report showed that the banks had $3,850,099 in notes in circulation and only $705,752 in specie on hand. The committee made no recommendations. *Journal of the Senate*, 1819, 121-124. Bills were introduced to tax the State Bank of North Carolina and to compel the banks to resume specie payment; but the only legislation relating to banks was an act making the counterfeiting of bank notes a felony. *Journal of the House of Commons*, Dec. 22, 1819; *Journal of the Senate*, Dec. 18, 21, 23, 1819; *Laws of North Carolina*, 1819, ch. 7.

[83] "Leonidas" of Windsor in a letter published in the *Halifax Compiler* expressed the attitude of a portion of the population. He believed that the banks were the chief cause of the evils of the time and that "any corporation, not promotive of, or essential to public good, ought not to exist; that all banks wherein individuals are interested, are moneyed monopolies, tending to make profit to those who do not labor, out of the means of those who do; . . . tending to tax the many for the benefit of a few; tending to create a privileged order unuseful and pernicious to society; tending to destroy liberty, and create a power unfriendly to human happiness; tending, inevitably, to an unfeeling moneyed aristocracy, more to be deprecated than monarchy itself; tending to the destruction of the best hopes of man, here and hereafter—and . . . to a . . . Potent Conspiracy against the liberties of the whole State as nothing but a total confusion of things can disclose." *Raleigh Minerva*, July 7, 1820.

unreasonable multiplication of banks, and the excessive issue of their paper far beyond their capacity to redeem. . . . It therefore becomes your imperious duty so to regulate those monied institutions as to give stability to their issues. . . . I should be disposed to give the banks their own time to resume specie payments, provided that time was a reasonable one; but to tell them in plain terms, that if after this you will not profit by the knowledge you have gained from experience, you shall be disfranchised and razed to your very foundations.[84]

He declared that the people shared with the banks the blame for the current distress; but, whereas the farmer and merchant were shedding drops of blood in the surrender of all their property to meet the demands of their creditors, some of the banks, when hard pressed,

by some species of legerdemain, incomprehensible to a plain man . . . instead of making the ordinary sacrifices to meet the demands of justice, indignantly close their vaults, and tell the holders of their notes with ineffable contempt . . . that . . . it will be to the interest of the bank to decline payment altogether. . . . By what species of sophistry . . . or in what system of ethics, can it be found, that an individual shall be thus degraded and stripped even to the last cow that gives sustenance to his family, to meet the demands of his creditors, that does not equally apply to an association of individuals, under the character of Bank Stockholders, Bank Directors or what not,

who, securely entrenched behind "impregnable ramparts," are drawing their "eight, ten, or twelve per cent interest"? Professing an interest in the welfare of the banks and a desire to reestablish their credit, he called on the legislature to place them on a sound basis, for by them "money is not only made; but, by their failure to pay specie, the value thereof is indirectly regulated, and thus the salutary provisions of our constitution are virtually defeated."[85]

There were some attempts to carry out the recommendations of the Governor;[86] but the legislative majority was so

[84] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 22, 1820.

[85] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 22, 1820.

[86] Bills were introduced to suspend executions in certain cases, to prohibit usury, to prevent oppression at sales on executions by making it necessary that the property sell for not less than two-thirds of its

pro-bank that, instead of interfering, it came to the rescue of the banks by directing the Public Treasurer to purchase their stock with the surplus money in the state treasury.[87] A law was passed whereby honest debtors might avoid imprisonment for debt;[88] and the sale of land and slaves under execution was forbidden except at the court house on a certain day each month after a public notice of forty days for land and twenty days for slaves.[89]

The anti-bank and pro-debtor sentiment in the State, though receiving no sympathy from Governor Franklin in 1821 or Governor Holmes in 1822 and 1823, continued to press for legislative action. Purchasers of Cherokee lands, whose payments were due, were relieved in 1823 by a stay of proceedings until October 31, 1824, and a reduction in the size of the installment due on that date.[90] An issue of $100,000 in treasury notes of small denominations, receivable in payment of debts and taxes due the State, was ordered; but the act was converted into a relief measure for the banks by a provision that specie and bank notes received in exchange therefor should be invested in bank stock.[91] In 1821 the conserva-

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value, and to compel the banks to resume specie payment. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 11, 12, 15, 18, 23, 1820; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 20, 21, 22, 1820; Legislative Papers, 1820; *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 29, 1820. A long unsigned letter, published in the *Minerva,* Dec. 29, 1820, declared that the banks were not responsible for the general distress, that the suspension of specie payments had been necessary in the interest of the people and had not injured the State or its citizens because not over fifteen per cent of the loans had been called in and because the notes circulated freely, were virtually on a par with specie, and were amply secured in the long run by the assets of the banks. If the legislature forced an early resumption of specie payments, the banks would be compelled to require the early payment of their loans amounting to about $5,000,000. This would spread general distress throughout the State, destroy the banks, and deprive the State of taxes and the dividends on its bank stock.

[87] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1820, ch. 15.

[88] *Ibid.,* 1820, ch. 33.

[89] *Ibid.,* 1820, ch. 32; *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 29, 1820.

[90] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1823, ch. 11. Relief bills had been introduced in 1821 and 1822. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 14, 1821, Nov. 29, 1822.

[91] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1823, ch. 7. A similar measure had been recommended by a legislative committee in 1822. Legislative Papers, 1822.

tive, creditor interests secured the repeal of the law of 1820 which provided a means whereby honest debtors might avoid imprisonment.[92] The next year, however, the system of 1820 was restored, to be effective for debts contracted after May 1, 1823;[93] and in 1823, imprisonment of women for debt was abolished.[94]

Efforts to secure a thorough and impartial investigation of the condition and practices of the banks were frustrated by the pro-bank party in the legislatures of 1821, 1822, and 1823.[95] Beginning in 1821, there developed a pronounced movement for the establishment of a new bank belonging entirely to the State "to relieve the pecuniary distress of the people."[96] The bill of 1823 provided for the Bank of the State of North Carolina, with no stockholders and with officers elected by joint ballot of the legislature. The capital stock was to consist of all the lands, bank stock, and other property belonging to the State; and "the faith of the State is hereby pledged for the support of the said Bank." The president and directors were to have the power to "issue notes . . . for such sums . . . as they may deem most expedient and safe." Loans were to be made to citizens with mortgaged real estate as security. The loans should not exceed one-third of the value of the mortgaged property and must be apportioned among the counties in proportion to population.[97] A large minority in the

[92] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1821, ch. 8.

[93] *Ibid.,* 1822, ch. 3.

[94] *Ibid.,* 1823, ch. 31.

[95] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 3, 26, 1821, Dec. 25, 1822; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 20, 22, 1823. John Branch was the leading advocate of the investigation. Additional attempts were made to prohibit usury and to compel the banks to resume specie payment. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 11, 1821, Dec. 18, 1823; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 24, 1823. Even a resolution requiring the Public Treasurer to secure from the banks and submit to the legislature annually the meager information which the banks were required by their charters to furnish the treasurer was defeated in 1822. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 28, 1822; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 26, 27, 1822.

[96] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 11, 1821.

[97] "A bill establishing a Bank of the State of North Carolina," Legislative Papers, 1823.

House—fifty-one out of one hundred twenty-two—voted against the indefinite postponement of the bill.[98]

The votes in the legislature show that the anti-bank and pro-debtor sentiment was widely distributed. Numerous factors prevented a sharply defined cleavage. As illustrated in the case of John Branch of Halifax, personalities were of considerable influence; as was also the hostility of the friends of the state banks and the United States Bank. A militant class consciousness among the debtors and poor masses was slow in development, owing to their habit of following political leaders, most of whom were conservative in finance as well as politics. On the question of compelling the state banks to resume specie payment earlier than they wished, the proponents of a sounder banking system might stand side by side with those who hated and desired to punish the state banks. The bank issue was further complicated by the fact that a considerable portion of the State's revenue, with which it was financing the program of internal improvements, was derived from dividends on bank stock owned by the State. In 1821, these dividends were constituted a part of the fund for internal improvements.[99] The great need and popularity of internal improvements in some sections, particularly the West, operated to curb normal tendencies to attack the banks, which were the geese that laid the golden eggs of improved transportation. Though the anti-bank and pro-debtor sentiment was scattered, it was more pronounced in the western and extreme northeastern parts of the State.[100] After the panic of 1819,

[98] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 15, 1823. A similar bill had been indefinitely postponed in 1822 by a Senate vote of 36 to 24. *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1822.

[99] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1821, ch. 6.

[100] This conclusion is borne out by the following statistics of the votes from the western and sound counties which comprised slightly less than two-thirds of the counties in the State: In favor of taxing the State Bank, fifteen out of a total of twenty-one votes. Four additional votes were from Cumberland and adjacent counties, perhaps friendly to the United States Bank at Fayetteville. *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1819. Against postponement of the bill to compel the state banks to resume specie payment, sixteen out of twenty-four in 1819 and thirteen out of twenty-one in 1820. *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 23, 1819, Dec. 20, 1820. Against postponing the bill to establish the new Bank of the State of North Carolina, twenty out of twenty-

there was developing in North Carolina a sectional cleavage over financial matters which tended to be between the more backward West and sound region on the one hand, and the more highly developed Middle East on the other. In the State as a whole, the conservative friends of the banking and creditor interests, though undergoing attacks, were still in the ascendancy.

The internal improvement program of the State encountered an increasing and bitter opposition in the legislature after 1819. In the preceding four years, a systematic program had been adopted and $112,500 appropriated to various projects. During the next five years, the momentum which the movement had gathered and the continuing acute need secured additional authorizations for approximately the same amount;[101] but the obstructionists defeated numerous projects and constantly threatened the entire program. In 1820 and 1821, they attempted to repeal the act of 1819 which created the internal improvement board and fund;[102] and, in 1822, to repeal the act of 1821 which increased the fund.[103] They embarrassed the program by moves to reduce the salary of and to discharge the state engineer,[104] and in 1824 brought about a change in the constituency of the board by reducing it to the governor and three directors.[105] The opponents of internal improvements emphasized the financial embarrassments of the people, the expense and wastefulness of the system, the failure to produce useful results in projects already undertaken, and the fact that the individual stockholders in the various companies did not share with the State the expense of the board and en-

four in the Senate in 1822, and thirty-nine out of fifty-one in the House in 1823. *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1822; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 15, 1823.

[101] W. K. Boyd, "The North Carolina Fund for Internal Improvements," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* XV (1916), 52-67; J. Allen Morgan, "State Aid to Transportation in North Carolina—The Pre-Railroad Era (1776-1835)," *North Carolina Booklet,* X (1916), 122-154.

[102] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 8, 1820, Dec. 29, 1821.

[103] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 21, 1822.

[104] *Ibid.,* Dec. 26, 1823; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 29, 1821, Dec. 25, 29, 1823.

[105] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1824, ch. 5.

gineers.[106] The optimism and enthusiasm of 1815 were gone. The policy of internal improvements was becoming so unpopular that its continuation was doubtful.[107]

The agitation for constitutional reform was particularly intense after 1819.[108] The economic distress and the desire for internal improvements increased the sense of grievance of the under-represented western counties against the smaller and more numerous eastern counties which controlled the state government. In 1819, 1820, and 1821, the westerners made determined efforts for reform.[109] Finding their efforts in the legislature of no avail, the western senators and representatives in a caucus in 1822 launched the movement which culminated in the futile western convention of 1823 in Raleigh.[110] The votes in the legislature on the issue of constitutional reform show a clear and definite cleavage in the State between the West and East. After the failure of the western convention, the presidential campaign excited such intense interest and discussion that public agitation for constitutional reform virtually ceased until after the election.

On federal as well as state questions, there was a noticeable change in the attitude of North Carolina after 1819. In Congress, economy, retrenchment, and reform became to a more pronounced degree the watchwords of the North Carolina delegation. The members seldom took part in the debates. Their occasional speeches as well as their votes were for economy and a negative governmental policy. They favored drastic reduction of the army and of appropriations for the war department.[111] Their opposition to increases in the tariff, demanded by the New England manufacturers, became more in-

[106] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 29, 1820, Jan. 5, 1821; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 18, 1822.

[107] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 29, 1820; *Catawba Journal,* Dec. 7, 1824.

[108] Some of the public discussion may be found in the *Raleigh Register,* Dec., 1819, Jan., 1822; *The Star,* June, July, Nov., 1823; *Western Carolinian,* Mar., 1822, Nov., 1823.

[109] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 4, 1819; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 16, 1820, Dec. 19, 1821.

[110] W. K. Boyd, "Antecedents of the Convention of 1835," *South Atlantic Quarterly,* IX (1910), 83-93, 161-176.

[111] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., 390, 531, 1155; *ibid.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1606-1607, 1632, 1784; *ibid.,* 17 Cong., 1 sess., 1182.

tense[112]—it had been unanimous in 1816. Burton spoke against the tariff bill of 1824; and so did Macon, who regarded it as a tax on the poor country in the South.[113] Though the bill became law, the solid vote of the North Carolina delegation was in opposition.[114] In the House, only six favorable votes came from the entire South and Southwest. North Carolina had not moved from its position of 1816; since then, the South had shifted to North Carolina in almost solid phalanx.

The economic and sectional implications of the tariff were only beginning to be realized by the people outside the halls of Congress and the ranks of the manufacturers. The hard times after 1819 hastened the educational process. In his message to the General Assembly of 1820, Governor Branch declared that the tariff oppressed the agricultural and commercial sections, enhanced the price of necessities, depressed the price of staples, and would make necessary a resort to direct taxation.[115] The legislature adopted resolutions, reported by a committee of which Richard Dobbs Spaight was chairman, that the representatives of North Carolina in Congress use their efforts to prevent any increases in the tariff to protect manufactures.[116] Occasional anti-tariff speeches, articles, and circulars of congressmen to their constituents were published in the State;[117] and congressmen communicated their opinions to friends.[118] Though the paucity of evidence indicates that

[112] *Ibid.*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., 2155; *ibid.*, 17 Cong., 2 sess., 931 *et seq.*, 978 *et seq.*

[113] *Ibid.*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., 689.

[114] *Ibid.*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., 765, 2429. Though opposing the bill, Congressman R. B. Vance of Buncombe County deplored the intemperate speeches of many anti-tariff men and declared his willingness to "make a sacrifice of individual and local feelings and interests for the good of the whole" country. R. B. Vance to Benjamin Brittain, Washington, Feb. 18, 1824, The Colonel Allen T. Davidson and Gen. Theo F. Davidson Papers, 1824-1930.

[115] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 22, 1820.

[116] *Ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1820; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 23, 1820.

[117] *Carolina Sentinel,* Nov. 10, 1821, Dec. 22, 1821; *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 21, 28, Mar. 14, 1823; *Raleigh Minerva,* July 28, 1820.

[118] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 16, Dec. 12, 1823, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 64, 67; R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 30, 1824, A. R. Newsome, "Letters of Romulus M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, 1821-1828," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 444-45, cited hereafter as "Letters of Saunders to Yancy";

public sentiment was only in the formative stage, it seems likely that agricultural and Jeffersonian North Carolina was already or at least potentially free trade and anti-tariff. The strong opposition manifested in the General Assembly by Spaight of New Bern suggests that the commercial interests in the seaboard towns were likewise hostile.

Yet there was some pro-tariff sentiment in North Carolina in the decade after 1815. The custom was continued at Fourth of July celebrations of toasting manufactures, along with commerce and agriculture, as an index of national wealth and prosperity.[119] It was urged that the tariff would stimulate manufactures not only in New England but also in North Carolina, and would free the United States from economic dependence on Europe. Moreover, by developing home markets for foodstuffs, it would be a boon to the agricultural interests, which even then were suffering from their dependence on glutted European markets. In addition, the tariff would provide ample revenue for the federal government with which to make internal improvements and meet the increasing obligations of an expanding government. Even a judicious upward revision of the tariff was preferable to loans or objectionable internal taxes as a means of wiping out the deficit after 1819.[120] "If the citizens of our country would exercise a little of that *common sense* on this subject which they exercise on most others, they would be convinced, that in proportion as industry and economy are promoted amongst all classes, the Nation would be prosperous and happy." The country would not get rid of its embarrassments until domestic manufactures were developed.[121] In 1823 the tariff was an

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Willie P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington, Feb. 11, 1824, Mangum MSS. Mangum wrote: "The Yankees will make the Southerners hewers of wood & Drawers of water for them. I conceive the line of policy that this Government is to pursue already settled—the Eastern States will be converted into a great workshop & the slave holding states will be compelled to pay them tribute."

[119] *Raleigh Register,* July 11, 1823.

[120] *Raleigh Register,* July 7, 1820, communication signed "An Old Farmer"; *ibid.,* Apr. 11, 18, May 2, 9, 1823, communications signed "An Independent Citizen," of Warren County; *Western Carolinian,* June 17, 1823, communication signed "Lincoln."

[121] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 5, 1821.

issue in the congressional contest between William Davidson of Charlotte and Henry W. Conner. Conner, who circularized the district with an attack on the tariff, was elected, though the outcome may have been influenced by personal and local considerations and by the fact that Davidson had been a Federalist.[122] The people of North Carolina were not unanimously hostile to the tariff as were their representatives in Washington.

The North Carolina delegation in Congress was hostile to the federal program of internal improvements after 1819. In 1824, the General Survey Bill was introduced, authorizing the President to have surveys made of roads and canals of national importance for commercial, military, or postal purposes. Spaight of Craven spoke in opposition, denying that Congress had power under the constitution to carry on a program of internal improvements;[123] and the entire delegation, except Vance of Buncombe who was favorable, voted in opposition.[124] The chief support of the bill in the nation was in the West and in the middle states, and the most opposition was in New England. The South cast twenty-three votes in favor and thirty-four against. Southern congressmen were disposed to support the measure if it promised to meet the needs of their constituents.

The passage of the General Survey Bill seemed to indicate that the federal government was ready to embark upon an extensive program of internal improvements. It was of significance to western and tidewater North Carolina that Secretary of War Calhoun, under whose direction the surveys would be made, had already singled out a road from Maine to Louisiana and a line of inland navigation from Boston to Savannah as two of the most important projects with which the government could concern itself.

In the decade prior to the election of 1824, there was dis-

[122] William Davidson to Charles Fisher, Charlotte, July 10, 1823, A. R. Newsome, "Correspondence of John C. Calhoun, George McDuffie and Charles Fisher, Relating to the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *N. C. Hist Rev.,* VII (1930), 494. Hereafter this work will be cited as "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence."

[123] *Annals of Congress,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., 1395.

[124] *Ibid.,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., 570-571, 1468-1469; R. B. Vance to S. F. Patterson, Washington, Feb. 25, 1824, Patterson Papers, 1777-1933.

content in North Carolina with two features of the prevailing political system: the method of choosing presidential electors, and nomination by caucus.

Dissatisfaction with the method of choosing presidential electors by general ticket was widespread and vocal. In the first election in which North Carolina participated, that of 1792, there was not sufficient time for holding a popular election of electors between the meeting of the General Assembly on November 15 and the meeting of the electors scheduled for December 5. A unique and temporary arrangement was made whereby the State was divided into four districts, and the members of the General Assembly residing in each should meet on November 26 and choose three electors resident in their district.[125] Later in the same session, permanent provision was made for popular election by districts.[126]

In the country at large, selection by the legislature was at first the more usual procedure; but it was gradually superseded by the system of popular election. In the states having the system of popular election, the trend was decidedly toward choice by general ticket rather than by districts. North Carolina was one of the chief strongholds of the district system until 1811. In that year, with the excuse that the expected increase of electoral votes would be made so late that the State could not be redistricted before the election of 1812, the General Assembly, over the opposition of a strong minority,[127] repealed the district system law and enacted that the electors in 1812 should be chosen by the next General Assembly.[128] A formal protest, signed by nine members of the Senate, condemned the act as unconstitutional, unnecessary, and "merely

[125] *Journal of the Senate,* Nov. 23, 1792; *Laws of North Carolina,* 1792, ch. 15.

[126] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1792, ch. 16. Without citing the source of his information, Dodd states that in 1798 the Federalists, in view of Jefferson's popularity and their own strength in the General Assembly, made an effort to provide for the choice of electors by the legislature. W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 161. No contemporary evidence of an attempt in 1798 to repeal the law of 1792 has been found by the author.

[127] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 23, 1811.

[128] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 23, 1811; *Laws of North Carolina,* 1811, ch. 4.

calculated to increase the ascendency of the political party now in power, to destroy the influence of certain districts in the state, and to overwhelm and silence a minority whose voice ought always to be heard in choosing the chief magistrate of the United States."[129] The next legislature restored the district system and resolved unanimously in favor of its general adoption in the United States.[130] The passage of the law of 1811 caused great excitement. Israel Pickens, a member of the House of Representatives, declared in a speech on January 3, 1814, that it "caused more agitation over the State than had been witnessed since the Government commenced."[131] In response to sentiment in the State, North Carolina's representatives at Washington were conspicuous for a decade in advocating a constitutional amendment establishing a uniform system of popular election by districts in all the states. On January 20, 1813, in compliance with instructions from the state legislature, James Turner introduced such a proposal, which passed the Senate.[132] Pickens introduced a similar proposal in the House on December 20, 1813,[133] and made a long speech in its support.

Under the district system, North Carolina had been predominantly Republican since 1792; but in three elections it had cast a divided vote, the Federalists securing one vote in 1796, four in 1800, and three in 1808. The dominant party was determined to stop the quadrennial donation of electoral votes to the opposition. In line with the trend in the country, to insure an undivided vote for the Republican party, and to increase the influence of the State in national politics, the General Assembly of 1815 adopted the system of choosing presidential electors by general ticket. The vote in the House of Commons was 67 to 59; and in the Senate, 31 to 27.[134]

However, efforts were renewed to secure a uniform dis-

[129] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 23, 1811.

[130] *Laws of North Carolina,* 1812, ch. 6; *Annals of Congress,* 13 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., 831.

[131] *Annals of Congress,* 13 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., 831.

[132] *Ibid.,* 12 Cong., 2 sess., 57, 91.

[133] *Ibid.,* 13 Cong., 1 and 2 sess., 797.

[134] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 19, 1815; *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 18, 1815.

trict system throughout the country. In December, 1815, the legislature instructed the congressmen to attempt to secure the uniform district system by constitutional amendment.[135] Pickens again presented his amendment in December, 1816, and fought vainly for its adoption.[136] At the next session, Macon worked for a similar amendment in the Senate;[137] and in 1820, James S. Smith spoke in favor of the proposal in the House.[138] As late as March, 1822, the same proposal received the vote of both North Carolina senators.[139]

Proponents of the district system sought vainly in 1816 and again in 1822 to repeal the state law of 1815.[140] The evidence is clear that on the eve of the campaign of 1824, North Carolina favored the district system in principle and also in practice for itself together with the rest of the country; but concern for an undivided electoral vote made it hostile to any change in the electoral law so long as many other states adhered to election by general ticket. "Policy and self defense requires that the State should give a united vote."[141] But there persisted a considerable minority so attached to the district system as to favor its reestablishment by independent state action.

Discontent with the caucus nomination of presidential electors and candidates was more latent than vocal in North Carolina. A Republican legislative caucus customarily selected the electoral ticket for which the people should vote;[142] and a congressional caucus, the presidential candidate whom the elec-

[135] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 19, 1815; *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 19, 1815.

[136] *Annals of Congress,* 14 Cong., 2 sess., 256.

[137] E. Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency,* 122; *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 1 sess., 114.

[138] Stanwood, *op. cit.,* 123; *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1903-1912.

[139] *Annals of Congress,* 17 Cong., 1 sess., 283.

[140] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 7, 1816; *ibid.,* Dec. 9, 19, 1822. In 1816, the bill to repeal the law of 1815 was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 53 to 49. In 1822, the proposal to restore the district system was reported as inexpedient by a special committee. The House voted to concur with the committee's report, 96 to 26.

[141] *Hillsborough Recorder,* Jan. 22, 1823, quoting *Milton Gazette.*

[142] A legislative caucus nominated electors in the campaign of 1820 on December 22, 1819. *Raleigh Minerva,* Dec. 24, 1819.

tors should support. The people had virtually no voice in the selection of the president. But the caucus was so useful in securing party harmony and victory that it was favored strongly by the Republican leaders who wielded the power in caucus, and was acquiesced in by the orthodox rank and file of the party. After all, each caucus recommendation had met the genuine approval of the party majority. The disappearance of organized Federalist opposition after 1816 made the caucus unnecessary to party victory; but economic prosperity, political orthodoxy, and general satisfaction with Monroe postponed attacks on the caucus in North Carolina for two administrations following the War of 1812. Nathaniel Macon, alone of the prominent political leaders of the State, had been an enemy of the caucus for many years.[143]

After the abortive congressional caucus of 1820, the *Minerva* expressed the belief that North Carolina was proud of the fact that none of its congressmen attended. This new manifestation of hostility to caucus "should afford pleasure to all those estimating the purity of elections. . . . There is then a prospect that on this, as on many other political questions, the public opinion will unanimously settle down upon these just republican principles which are the safeguards of our institutions."[144] But the North Carolina politicians generally continued to esteem the party caucus as an effective agency for controlling nominations and elections.

Although the people had made few vocal assaults on the caucus, they had become remarkably indifferent to a political life whose zest of contest had been greatly decreased by the caucus. In 1816, of the 60,000 eligible voters in North Carolina, only 9,549 participated in the presidential election; and in 1820, less than half that number.[145] The economic depression after 1819 stimulated a renewal of interest in politics. This revived interest produced an early division of opinion in the

[143] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1823, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 67, 69.

[144] *Raleigh Minerva,* Apr. 21, 1820. The North Carolina delegation met on Apr. 6, 1820, and decided not to attend the congressional caucus scheduled for the following night. Thomas Settle to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Apr. 8, 1820, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-1828.

[145] *Cf. infra,* 156 n.

State as to the man who should succeed Monroe as president[146] and stimulated an attack on the caucus[147] which would not recognize or tolerate party division. The rural, semi-frontier portions of North Carolina, restless under the goad of hard times, were in a mood to protest the continued dominance of a small group of political leaders, most of whom were from the eastern part of the State.

In North Carolina on the eve of the election of 1824, there were factional and sectional differences within the Republican party over the state issues of finance, constitutional reform, and internal improvements, and over the national issues of internal improvements, tariff, electoral reform and slavery extension. These political differences sprang largely from the conflicting interests and needs of the differing geographical sections of the State. The issues of constitutional reform and slavery extension revealed a clear sectionalism between East and West. But on the economic issues of internal improvements by the federal government, debtor relief, and bank reform, the available evidence indicates a pronounced tendency toward an alignment of the undeveloped West and the sound region against the more prosperous and highly developed Middle East.

In its political life, North Carolina was little different from many other states and the country at large. The United States was a great empire of geographical sections whose differing needs found expression in conflicting attitudes toward governmental policies affecting their interests. The panic of 1819 made it highly advisable that each section promote its own welfare and guard zealously its own interests. Governmental policies were scrutinized more closely in the light of local self-interest, and candidates were favored or opposed less on purely personal grounds and more on the grounds of the policies with which they were identified. The continuation of the "era of good feelings" and the solidarity of the Republican party were definitely menaced by an emerging sectionalism.[148]

[146] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1821, *Sprunt Monographs*, no. 2, 59-60.

[147] *Western Carolinian*, Dec. 11, 1821, Feb. 5, 1822.

[148] The situation was understood by some of the political leaders. In 1821, Macon admitted that both old parties are "much, if not en-

In the chaotic politics which prevailed in the United States after 1819, there was a noticeable tendency toward sectional alignment under public leaders who championed sectional interests. Yet, in view of the slow crystallization of public opinion on the national issues and the persistence of the spirit of nationalism, those public men who aspired to the presidency must seek not only to consolidate the support of their respective sections but also, by professing true Republicanism and concern for the national welfare, to command a following in other sections as well.

Early in Monroe's first term, politicians began to consider the presidential campaign of 1824; and by 1820, at the very apex of the "era of good feelings," there existed factional feuds between the friends of the five leading rival candidates. Each was declared to be a genuine Republican with the interest of the whole country in view. But there was a wide difference of opinion as to what constituted genuine Republicanism; and each candidate, though conciliatory in attitude, was regarded as the champion of a particular section, group, or policy. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, learned and experienced in diplomacy and national politics, was the only northern candidate. The new empire west of the mountains offered Henry Clay, recognized champion of nationalism and the American System and the popular and influential speaker of the House; and Andrew Jackson, military hero, the personification of democracy and western interests, and a member of the United States Senate in the Eighteenth Congress. Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, the most prominent advocate of internal improvements and a supporter of the entire nationalistic program of the young Republicans, and Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford of Georgia, who was identified with the princi-

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tirely broken," though he believed that the principles upon which they were originally formed would continue to be felt. He saw several parties in process of formation for the election of 1824. Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1821, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 59; John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, June 11, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 480.

ples of strict construction and state rights, were the two candidates from the South.

Events of the period seemed to work in favor of Adams and Jackson. The panic of 1819 brought embarrassment to Crawford as Secretary of the Treasury; and a stroke of paralysis in September, 1823, all but put him out of the contest. Adams and Jackson profited most from the acquisition of Florida; and the Missouri controversy, without injuring Jackson who was in Florida, helped Adams and Crawford in so far as it tended to unify the North and South, respectively. The alleged menace of the European "Holy Alliance" aided Jackson, as did also the growing democratic movement, the protest against aristocratic control of the party, the fame of his military career, and the mass of popular discontent following the economic crisis of 1819. In regard to the leading national issues of internal improvements and tariff, Calhoun and Clay were the only candidates whose position had been publicly demonstrated. The keen personal rivalry and the vigorous contest of the numerous candidates for the presidency in 1824 hastened the disintegration of the Republican party.

In the contest for mastery of the South, Crawford, longer in public life, more popular with the older and leading politicians, and shifting with the pronounced southern drift toward strict construction and state rights, possessed clear advantages over Calhoun, who remained associated in the southern mind with the waning policy of nationalism.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY CAMPAIGN

In North Carolina, as in the country at large, the campaign for the choice of Monroe's successor began early; and William H. Crawford was regarded as the candidate most likely to receive the fifteen electoral votes of the State. North Carolina was one of the five states which most strongly supported him for the nomination against Monroe in the congressional caucus of 1816;[1] and his popularity persisted with the North Carolina politicians,[2] who expected that in due time a caucus would recommend him as the regular Republican candidate in 1824. Judging from the experience of a quarter century, the Republican caucus nominee would be certain of election.

In the opinion of the Crawford leaders public discussion of the coming election was unnecessary in North Carolina—it might even injure Crawford by stimulating the cause of rival candidates. And not until other candidates were openly championed did the public campaign for Crawford begin. However, after the election of 1820 in which Monroe was unopposed, North Carolina partisans of Crawford, in Washington and within the State, were active in quiet, private promotion of his candidacy. In 1820, Nathaniel Macon regarded Crawford's chances in 1824 as superior to those of Adams, Calhoun, or Clay.[3] Before the end of 1821, he preferred Crawford and expressed the opinion that North Carolina would support the candidate who was thought to be most republican and most

[1] E. Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency,* 110. Early in 1816 Bartlett Yancy believed that Crawford was more popular in Congress than Monroe and that "he would make the most able President this Country ever had." Bartlett Yancy to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Feb. 17, 1816, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 167-168.

[2] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 8, Mar. 8, 1818, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 44, 50.

[3] W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 333.

economical;[4] and soon thereafter he was pointing out to Crawford leaders within the State the sources of opposition to his favorite candidate.[5] From the beginning of the campaign, Macon thought that considerable exertion would be necessary to secure the vote of the State for Crawford.[6] Romulus M. Saunders urged Thomas Ruffin to see that a local politician be "put down in Hillsb[o]" for unfriendliness to Crawford, "for if North Carolina equivocates, he is gone."[7] Yancy predicted in 1821 that the State would support Crawford in 1824.[8] In March, 1823, the *Milton Gazette* was understood to favor him.[9] The *Raleigh Register,* leading Republican organ in the State, did not openly advocate his candidacy until the midsummer of 1823, although nearly a year before it called attention to the popular ovation with which he was being received on a visit to Georgia as a proof of a "desire to see him elevated to the first office in the gift of his country."[10] Before July, 1823, it regarded discussion of the campaign as premature; then it lamented the large number of candidates and expressed the belief that in choosing electors North Carolina, not wishing the election to go to the House of Representatives, would be nearly unanimous in its opinion, as usual. Crawford's strong showing in the caucus of 1816 was one circumstance inclining the *Register* to his support; but Calhoun was praised as a man of high character, integrity, and principles, who "at some future day . . . will probably fill the highest station in the union."[11]

The opponents of Crawford, with less to lose and more to gain by agitation, sought early to discover and to stimulate

[4] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 21, 1821, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 59.

[5] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 17, 1822, *ibid.,* no. 2, 62-63.

[6] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Apr. 17, 1821, and Mar. 17, Apr. 17, 1822, *ibid.,* no. 2, 61-63, and Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[7] R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Dec. 15, 1821, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 255.

[8] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 30, 1821, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 430.

[9] *Western Carolinian,* Mar. 25, 1823.

[10] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 13, 1822.

[11] *Ibid.,* July 11, 25, 1823.

anti-Crawford sentiment in North Carolina. The earliest and most serious threat to the plans and hopes of the Crawford party centered in Salisbury. Here Charles Fisher became the organizer and director of the Calhoun campaign in the State and the *Western Carolinian* its chief newspaper organ.

Fisher began public life as senator from Rowan County in the General Assembly of 1818. He entered the lower house of Congress in February, 1819, to fill the unexpired term of George Mumford and was elected for the full term which expired in March, 1821. In Congress, Fisher was more sympathetic with the nationalistic program of the young Republicans than was the generality of the North Carolina delegation. Soon after his arrival, he and the state delegation voted against the motion to table an amendment providing for the district system of choosing electors for president and vice-president of the United States.[12] On April 5, 1820, he spoke in favor of a proposal for increasing the military appropriations bill so as to make possible an extensive western expedition in the interest of trade, peace, and science, and was one of only three North Carolinians to vote for it.[13] He was friendly to the adequate maintenance of the military academy at West Point.[14] He followed the delegation of his State in voting against the tariff bill of 1820.[15] He participated in the long discussion for reduction of the army, though he revealed no bitter hostility to the report of Secretary of War Calhoun, as did his colleague, Lewis Williams.[16] He held somewhat different views from those of the Secretary and voted in favor of reduction; but he praised the report as the "ablest defence of the present establishment that I have seen, or expect to hear in this House," and declared that Calhoun's "course, on this occasion, as in the whole of his political career . . . has been that of the fearless politician and the enlightened statesman."[17] When Fisher left

[12] *Annals of Congress,* 15 Cong., 2 sess., 1420.
[13] *Ibid.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1784 *et seq.*
[14] *Ibid.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 1637-1638.
[15] *Ibid.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., 2155.
[16] As early as 1821, according to Adams, Lewis Williams owed Calhoun "an old grudge" and was working against his candidacy and in favor of Crawford's. Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 237, 326, 488.
[17] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 2 sess., 810 *et seq.*

Congress in 1821, he and Calhoun were friends and admirers.

In the House of Commons of the state legislature in 1821, Fisher favored road construction, education, and a convention to reform the state constitution. A year later he helped in the passage of a bill creating a new western county (Davidson) without the customary creation of a counterbalancing county in the East. Fisher understood the interests and desires of the West and was one of its recognized leaders.

A systematic effort in the winter of 1821-22 to ascertain general sentiment in North Carolina on the presidency convinced Fisher that there was much latent opposition to Crawford and that he would continue to decline in popularity. Whether Crawford could win the vote of the State depended "greatly upon who is his opponent." He could defeat Adams, but "if Mr. Calhoun is brought forward . . . Crawford's prospects in North Carolina become less flattering."[18] Other observers likewise discovered among the people an antipathy to Crawford and a potential following for "the most prominent Southern man . . . our friend Calhoun."[19]

In 1822 and 1823 Fisher was in correspondence with local political leaders, with Calhoun himself, and with Calhoun leaders in other states and in Congress.[20] He received the *Washington Republican,* established in August, 1822, by Cal-

[18] Charles Fisher to Ninian Edwards, Salisbury, Apr. 21, 1822, Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 522. "But is Mr. Calhoun certainly a candidate? Is it distinctly understood at Washington that such is the fact? . . . *here* it is not known that he is certainly a candidate . . . say to Mr. Calhoun, from me, that his prospects in North Carolina are *at least* equally good with the other gentlemen." Calhoun's friends had been promoting his candidacy for several months, and he had agreed to run in response to the request of a deputation of congressmen which visited him on December 28, 1821. W. M. Meigs, *Life of John C. Calhoun,* I, 290; Thomas Robson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* XII (1935), 23-24.

[19] Jno. Crowell to Ninian Edwards, Fayetteville, Apr. 27, 1822, Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 523.

[20] "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 477-504, contains letters from Calhoun to Fisher, from George McDuffie to Fisher and Montfort Stokes, and from William Davidson and B. B. Smith to Fisher. The Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896, also contains letters to Fisher from Thomas L. Smith of New York, Thomas L. McKenney of Washington, and other Calhoun friends.

houn and his friends under the editorship of Thomas L. McKenney, who also sent other campaign material to Fisher.[21]

Fisher's most effective agency for his anti-Crawford and pro-Calhoun activity was the *Western Carolinian,* established in Salisbury in the summer of 1820 partly through the instrumentality of Fisher who had easy access to its columns.[22] Early it lauded competition for public office as a manifestation of public virtue and intelligence,[23] attacked the congressional caucus as unnecessary and susceptible to intrigue and corruption,[24] and criticized Crawford's conduct of the Treasury Department.[25] It stigmatized the Radical party as hostile to Monroe's administration and, in the name of false economy, at war with all the great national institutions of the country.[26] Soon it published communications stating that Crawford was the recognized head of this new party,[27] to which several of the North Carolina congressmen had attached themselves.[28]

[21] Thomas L. McKenney to Charles Fisher, Washington, Nov. 19, 1822, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896; Thomas Robson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* XII (1935), 27-29.

[22] Mary Wescott and Allene Ramage, *A Checklist of United States Newspapers (And Weeklies Before 1900) in the General Library,* Part IV, North Carolina, 664. The paper was founded June 13, 1820, by J. Krider and Lemuel Bingham. In 1821 Bingham and Philo White became the publishers, and in 1823 Philo White alone took charge. In 1830 Fisher wrote as follows: "It is known that I was somewhat instrumental in establishing the Western Carolinian,—and for some time afterwards occasionally contributed my humble aid to make the Paper as useful and respectable as possible." *Western Carolinian,* Aug. 24, 1830.

[23] *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 11, 1821.

[24] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 5, 1822.

[25] *Ibid.,* Apr. 29, 1823.

[26] *Ibid.,* May 7, Nov. 5, 26, 1822.

[27] *Ibid.,* Jan. 28, May 6, 1823.

[28] *Ibid.,* Oct. 22, 1822. Adams reports an incident which shows the hostility of the North Carolina congressmen and President Monroe. In April, 1822, Lemuel Sawyer wrote the President asking him not to appoint John Branch to a Florida judgeship because of his lack of training and experience. Sawyer told Adams that the North Carolina delegation had arranged a meeting to remonstrate against the appointment. Adams explained that the real reason for their resentment, however, was not Branch's disqualification for the judgeship. The meeting was arranged "to show their resentment that he was not appointed Governor. Branch was the Crawford man; and his appointment has

Though neither Crawford's Virginia nativity nor his great popularity in that state was mentioned, North Carolina patriots were urged to assert the independence of their State and throw off the lamented and blighting political subservience to Virginia.[29]

As early as the spring of 1822, Macon understood that the Salisbury newspaper was for Calhoun;[30] but only gradually did it advance to an avowed championship of his cause. Publication of occasional complimentary articles[31] paved the way for an editorial that "Mr. *Calhoun's* chance is equal, at least, to that of any other candidate. As to talents and merits, he is second to none whose claims are before the public; as to *consistency* of conduct, and independence of action, he stands preeminently above the 'pontifex maximus' [Crawford] of our worthy friend at Milton."[32] Just a week before, Calhoun had written to Fisher in the interest of his candidacy: "Much will depend on the Western Carolinian. It ought to take a decided stand. An expression from it of my strength in the state would tend to animate our friends, and to repel the attempt, made, with so much art, to hold out the idea that I have withdrawn."[33] A Burke County correspondent placed Calhoun,

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been for some time expected as the test of Crawford's ascendency over the President's nominations. Its failure has produced a concentration of rage. The President said they had all written letters to him about it. He had answered Macon's. He considered himself personally insulted by them, and, if he was not in the situation in which he is, he would call them to account for it." Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 494. Branch had been informed, perhaps mistakenly, that Monroe had promised the governorship to a North Carolinian. Though disappointed at not receiving the governorship and unwilling to accept the judgeship, Branch did not consider his treatment insulting, as did the North Carolina delegation. "He is not the devoted friend of Mr. Crawford as some would have you believe." Jno. Crowell to Ninian Edwards, Fayetteville, Apr. 27, 1822, Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 523.

[29] *Western Carolinian,* June 17, 1823; *ibid.,* July 8, 29, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer.*

[30] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 17, Apr. 17, 1822, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 62, and Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[31] *Western Carolinian,* Apr. 9., July 9, 1822, Feb. 18, 1823.

[32] *Ibid.,* Mar. 25, 1823.

[33] "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 479; Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896. "The circumstance that op-

on the basis of talents and achievements, at the head of the Republican party, praised Adams as a talented statesman, and expressed his inability to discover the grounds of Crawford's pretensions to the presidency.[34] Fisher gave a toast at the July 4 celebration in Salisbury in 1823 to "the two Carolinas, bearing the same name, and having the same interest—may the cords of their union be drawn close between them."[35]

The *Carolina Observer* at Fayetteville urged the people to take an interest in the approaching election, to examine the candidates and their policies, and to assert the independence of their State from the political domination of Virginia. Instead of being premature, "a discussion at this time, can in no possible manner, be of public injury—it may, possibly, be detrimental to the interests of some one of the candidates. . . ."[36]

Due to the activity of Fisher and the *Western Carolinian* as well as to encouraging reports from other sources, Calhoun became interested in North Carolina in 1822 and systematically encouraged the movement in his behalf. In the summer he urged Ninian Edwards to correspond with Fisher.[37] In 1823 he induced Gen. Joseph G. Swift of New York, who had many connections in North Carolina growing out of his earlier residence and marriage in that State, to conduct an extensive correspondence in his behalf, to send copies of the New York Calhoun organ, *The Patriot,* to North Carolina leaders and newspapers, and to publish material for use in the campaign.[38]

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perates most against Mr. Calhoun is that the friends of Messrs. Adams & Crawford have induced a partial belief that his friends have determined to leave him out of the question. Many think he will not be a candidate till after the next two presidential terms have elapsed, when there is no doubt but that he will succeed." Hamilton Jones to J. G. Swift, Salisbury, June 24, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[34] *Western Carolinian,* Apr. 29, 1823.

[35] *Ibid.,* July 7, 1823.

[36] *Carolina Observer,* June 26, July 17, 1823.

[37] John C. Calhoun to Ninian Edwards, War Dept., Aug. 20, 1822, Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 492.

[38] [J. G. Swift], *The Memoirs of Gen. Joseph Garner Swift,* 192; George W. Cullum, *Biographical Sketch of Brigadier-General Joseph G. Swift . . . ,* 7, 9-11, 21; John C. Calhoun to J. G. Swift, Washington, Aug. 5, 1823, Thomas Robson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824. Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters," *American Historical Review,* XL (1934-35), 88, 96, 287; Thomas Rob-

Calhoun had already begun an active correspondence with Fisher. From the summer of 1822 he accorded to North Carolina an important place in his campaign strategy and grew in confidence that he would be able to defeat Crawford in the contest for its electoral vote.[39] He was reported to be the choice of the Salisbury district and very popular in the New Bern, Washington and Wilmington districts where "his journey . . . some years ago . . . attached many of the leading men to him quite warmly. . . ."[40]

In the spring and summer of 1823 Calhoun was addressing Fisher "as an old friend, who takes some interest in my fate" and was urging that "we have reached the moment to act, and

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son Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* XII (1935), 30-32. It was arranged that Swift should correspond with John Devereux, William Gaston and W. R. Swift in North Carolina. He prepared a pamphlet, *Principles, Not Men,* for use in the campaign. V. Maxcy to J. G. Swift, Tulip Hill, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers. Hay states that either Swift or McDuffie prepared another Calhoun pamphlet in the fall of 1823, *An Address to the Citizens of North Carolina, on the Subject of the Presidential Election,* copies of which are in the New York Public Library and in the library of the University of North Carolina. The editor of the *Carolina Observer,* Dec. 25, 1823, asserted, perhaps because it was signed "Carolina," that the pamphlet was written by a citizen of the State. The copy in New York bears a manuscript notation signed by "W. H. Jr.," apparently a contemporary, that the pamphlet is "supposed to be written by Mr. McDuffie." The Swift papers in the library of the United States Military Academy at West Point contain several Calhoun letters and more than fifty from Calhoun supporters in various states relating to the campaign of 1824. Swift corresponded with Hamilton Jones of Salisbury, A. S. H. Burges and B. B. Smith of Raleigh, William Gaston of New Bern, and W. R. Swift of Washington, N. C.

[39] Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 491, 494, 495, 496; Thomas Robson Hay, "John C. Calhoun and the Presidential Campaign of 1824. Some Unpublished Calhoun Letters," *American Historical Review,* XL (1934-35), 87, 88, 90, 91, 287, 289; "Calhoun-Gouverneur Correspondence, 1823-1836," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library,* III (1899), 325-326; "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 477-504. Early in 1823 Rufus King thought that North Carolina might at that time be inclined toward Calhoun, but without enthusiasm because "his vote to incorporate the Bk of the U. S. is not there forgotten." Charles R. King, *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King,* VI, 494.

[40] Hamilton Jones to J. G. Swift, Salisbury, June 24, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

concert and activity are required. . . . You need no suggestion from me how to act."[41] With Calhoun, George McDuffie, Gen. Joseph G. Swift and others in correspondence with prominent North Carolinians, with Fisher active in the State, and with the *Western Carolinian* an avowed advocate, the Calhoun campaign was well launched in North Carolina by the summer of 1823.

Prior to the state and congressional election of August, 1823, there was scant public mention or promotion of any opposition candidate except Calhoun. A Lincoln County correspondent expressed the belief that one-third of the State favored Adams and attributed similar views to him and Calhoun.[42] In the Mecklenburg district, Adams was reported to rank next to Calhoun in strength.[43] Though the New Englander had considerable strength, it was thought that "all of Mr. Adams's friends" would support a Calhoun electoral ticket.[44] The earliest comment encountered on Jackson's candidacy followed the publication of the news of his nomination by members of the Tennessee House of Representatives on July 20, 1822. His talents, character, and military genius were praised; but "in selecting a candidate for president, we could point to several who are greatly preferable." He would be a good pilot to guide the national ship on an ocean of danger; but "in a time of tranquillity and with brisk and favorable gales, we should greatly fear he would carry too much sail."[45] Nathaniel Macon was suggested as a presidential candidate,[46] though it was for the vice presidency that he was more prominently mentioned.[47]

[41] "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 477, 481.

[42] *Western Carolinian,* July 15, 22, 1823.

[43] William Davidson to Charles Fisher, Charlotte, July 10, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 494.

[44] Hamilton Jones to J. G. Swift, Salisbury, June 24, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[45] *Western Carolinian,* Aug. 20, 1822.

[46] *Hillsborough Recorder,* Apr. 2, 16, 1823; *The Star,* Aug. 15, 1823; *Carolina Observer,* Feb. 13, 1823, copy of article by "Virginius" in *Petersburg Republican.*

[47] *The Star,* May 9, 1823. In the spring of 1824, Crawford's friends were favorable to Macon for the vice presidency, and Hutchins G.

In view of the prospect that a caucus of the General Assembly of 1823 would form the Republican electoral ticket for North Carolina and that the Republican caucus in the next Congress would recommend the party candidate,[48] it is not surprising that partisans of Crawford and Calhoun regarded the state and congressional election of August 14, 1823, as of crucial importance. Nearly eighteen months prior to this election, Macon wrote from Washington to Bartlett Yancy: "The General Assembly at which the electors of P. & V. P. are named, will be a very important one in N. Carolina, and the members ought to be selected with a view to the presidential election."[49] The Calhoun press reported, though not until after the election, that "it is very well known, that a secret understanding took place at Raleigh last winter, among the Radicals, to bring out for the next Legislature as many of Mr. Crawford's partizans as possible. Accordingly, we have seen efforts of this sort going on. But Mr. Crawford's *name* was not even whispered . . . they electioneered on other grounds." The *Register* and Crawford's friends throughout the State were accused of maintaining deliberate silence until after the election. "While others wished to bring the subject fully before the people, that the merits of the several candidates might be fairly canvassed, the friends of the *Radical* candidate uniformly cried out, 'Oh! it's time enough yet.' The truth is, they cannot face *inquiry*."[50] The *Register* denied any knowl-

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Burton solicited for him the support of Adams's friends. Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 279; E. S. Brown, *The Missouri Compromise and Presidential Politics, 1820-1825, from the Letters of William Plumer, Jr.,* 109-110 (hereafter the reference to this work will be E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.*); *The Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser,* July 29, 1822.

[48] On December 22, 1819, a legislative caucus nominated the Republican electoral ticket for 1820; and early in the election years since 1796, with the exception of 1820, a congressional caucus had recommended the Republican candidate for the presidency. *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 31, 1819; J. A. Woodburn, *Political Parties and Party Problems in the United States,* 284-286; M. Ostrogorski, "The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional," *American Historical Review,* V (1899-1900), 259 *et seq.*

[49] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Mar. 17, 1822, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 63.

[50] *Western Carolinian,* Sept. 9, 1823.

edge of this understanding and explained its silence before the election on the ground that discussion at that time was premature.[51] The same Crawford strategy was alleged in regard to the congressional election.[52]

Nor were the Calhoun strategists unaware of the importance of the August election. Professing little solicitude for himself and much for political principles, Calhoun wrote that "your Congressional elections" should be attended to and that "care ought to be taken to bring forward some one of sound political sentiment. . . . Your election of members of the Legislature will doubtless be attended to also. It is of great, I may say almost of decisive importance."[53] Fisher himself was elected as one of the Rowan representatives in the House of Commons.

On the day following the election, before returns had been received, *The Star* threw open its columns to "temperate essays" in favor of either candidate. It expressed the belief that Crawford, who was formerly perhaps the leading candidate in North Carolina, had rapidly declined in popularity. "We do not assert it without the best means of knowing, when we say that the major part of that populous and wealthy portion of North Carolina, viz. the *western section* of the state, is decidedly in favor of the election of JOHN C. CALHOUN, Esquire, as our next President." It asserted that he had many influential friends in the East, also.[54] The *Western Carolinian* denied that Crawford had ever been the choice of the majority, but conceded his popularity with the "very active and *managing*" portion of the citizenship. The editor, fresh from an extended visit in the West and with reports from intelligent correspondents in nearly every western county, asserted that Crawford was less popular than either Jackson, Calhoun, or Adams. "Only the mid-way counties bordering on Virginia" were conceded as probable Crawford strong-

[51] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 19, 1823.

[52] *The Star,* Aug. 22, 1823, communication signed "Marcus."

[53] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Mar. 18, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 479; Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[54] *The Star,* Aug. 15, 1823.

holds.[55] The *Carolina Sentinel* of New Bern did not know the sentiment of the people in its section of the State as between Calhoun and Adams, but was "satisfied . . . that they prefer either of these gentlemen to Mr. Crawford."[56]

Immediately following the August election, the influential *Register* cast off its reserve and announced itself and North Carolina for Crawford. "We deem it impossible, that any man who considers with an impartial eye and unbiased judgment . . . can believe for a moment, as far as relates to this State, that any candidate can be placed in competition with Mr. Crawford."[57] "Mr. Crawford will sit in the Presidential Chair, and . . . the unanimous vote of North Carolina will assist in placing him there."[58]

The cocksureness of the Crawford press was not without apparent justification. "Let the public look at the returns of members for the State Legislature—above all let them examine the Congressional elections. . . . Representatives have been returned decidedly favorable to the claims of Mr. Crawford. . . . The voice of a State speaks through its Representatives—the Representatives of North Carolina are friendly to Mr. Crawford."[59] The *Register* declared that not one of the fifteen North Carolina representatives in Congress would vote for Calhoun. According to the *Milton Gazette,* ten of the thirteen representatives and the two senators were certain for Crawford and the "ranting" of the Calhoun and Adams men about *"radicalism"* had vanished in smoke. "There can be no more doubt of the vote of this State than there is of its political character. Its character is republican and its vote will be decidedly for Crawford."[60] Moreover, both Crawford papers made strong assertions, on the basis of observation and letters from several districts, that the presidential question was an issue and in some districts the pivotal issue in the congressional election of August 14.[61]

[55] *Western Carolinian,* Aug. 26, 1823.
[56] *The Star,* Sept. 19, 1823, quoting the *Carolina Sentinel.*
[57] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 22, 1823.
[58] *Ibid.,* Sept. 5, 1823.
[59] *Ibid.,* Aug. 22, 1823.
[60] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 5, 1823, quoting *Milton Gazette.*
[61] *Ibid.,* Sept. 5, 1823, and Sept. 5, 12, 1823, quoting *Milton Gazette.*

The *Western Carolinian,* while admitting that a majority of the congressmen personally favored Crawford, denied that their views on the presidency were an issue in their election.

> In three adjoining congressional districts, where members friendly to Crawford have been elected, a large majority of the people are known to be hostile to his pretensions. The candidates were well aware of this before the election; and, accordingly, in their harangues to the people, they made positive declarations, that, should the election of President devolve on Congress, they would vote for that man whom a majority of their constituents might designate.

Furthermore, with the presidential election more than a year in the future and with the meager discussion which had taken place, the vast majority of the voters in the State had not come to a decision prior to the August election. "They are now just beginning earnestly to inquire after and to obtain correct information," and the trend is Calhounward.[62]

From the available evidence concerning the August election, certain observations may be drawn with reasonable assurance. The Calhoun and Crawford leaders were equally aware of the important relation of the election to the future of their respective favorites. When there was opportunity, each sought quietly to put forward reliable candidates for the General Assembly and Congress. In some districts, though not in all, there was campaign discussion of the presidential question;[63] but it was in general reluctant, cautious, and restrained.

[62] *Western Carolinian,* Sept. 30, 1823. It asserted that a majority in the 1st, 4th, 7th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th districts was against Crawford. A. S. H. Burges thought that the presidential question had not influenced the August election. "The *people* had not *thought* of it." Burges to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[63] William Davidson to Charles Fisher, Charlotte, July 10, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 494; John J. Carrington to [?], Orange, Jan. 12, 1824, Mangum MSS. In view of the probability that the House of Representatives might elect the next president, "A Citizen" in the Fayetteville District called on the candidates for Congress to make known their stand on the presidency; but they (John Culpepper and Archibald McNeill) made evasive replies. *Carolina Observer,* May 8, 29, July 24, 1823. It was reported that the presidency was discussed during the campaign in the Morganton and Charlotte districts. *Carolina Observer,* Oct. 2, 1823.

Public sentiment was too uncertain, undetermined, and inchoate to make it expedient that candidates commit themselves to any presidential aspirant when there was no necessity of so doing. Generally, the presidential question was subordinated to personal and local issues.[64] Clearly it was not the main issue in the election of August, 1823.

However much there was of pre-election planning and activity by the friends of the presidential aspirants, the supporters of Crawford had reason to be elated over the election, which resulted in a congressional delegation overwhelmingly for him and a General Assembly in which the Crawford group, if not in the majority, certainly outnumbered that of Calhoun, Adams, or Jackson. Whether due to greater political sagacity in selecting candidates, to indifference of the voters, or to their candidate's greater popularity with the officeholders and politicians, the Crawfordites had real justification for confidence that, in both congressional and legislative caucuses, Crawford would be the choice of North Carolina; and in North Carolina nomination by Republican caucus had always been equivalent to election. With most of the political leaders and federal and state officeholders supporting Crawford, the task of the opposition seemed well-nigh impossible in the fall of 1823.

After the state election of 1823, the presidential campaign in North Carolina entered a new phase. The newspapers took sides; and there was much discussion of presidential politics, considering the remoteness of the election. "North Carolina

[64] Alfred M. Gatlin's defeat of Lemuel Sawyer in the congressional election in the Edenton district seems to have been due in no small part to the efforts of his Edenton friend, James Norcom. "I have been closely engaged for the last fortnight electioneering for our friend Gatlin whom I have succeeded in electing against Sawyer by a majority of 268 votes in our district. I made Chowan give him 400 out of 480 votes, which is the greatest majority Chowan has ever given to any Congressional candidate when there has been an opposition. On the day of Election I fed & refreshed 250 persons in my own house & thereby secured to our friend the decisive & casting vote, which our County gave, to its immortal honour & praise, be it spoken!!" Norcom also published an address in the *Edenton Gazette* and issued a handbill in the interest of Gatlin. Jas. Norcom to John Norcom, Edenton, Aug. 19, 1823, Norcom MSS.

has begun the contest at last," wrote Calhoun.[65] Before the end of 1823, Crawford had the support of the *Raleigh Register, Milton Gazette,* and *The Cape Fear Recorder* (Wilmington); Calhoun, of the *Western Carolinian* (Salisbury), *The Star* (Raleigh), *Carolina Sentinel* (New Bern), and *Elizabeth City Star;* and Adams, of the *Carolina Observer* (Fayetteville), *Hillsborough Recorder,* and *American Recorder* (Washington). "The newspapers of North Carolina are now fairly divided upon the Presidential question: three radical, and nine anti-radical," exulted the *Western Carolinian,* which regarded this ratio as a fair index of Crawford's strength in the State.[66] The *Carolina Observer* gave almost equal praise to Calhoun and Adams, but decided to "give to Mr. Adams, in *this* election, the preference."[67] The division among the press was primarily into two camps—Crawford and anti-Crawford. The former, refusing to take the opposition seriously, exhibited a calm assurance in final victory, and deemed it unnecessary to put forth much exertion. The opposition press, particularly the *Western Carolinian* and *The Star,* assumed the aggressive and made vigorous attacks on Crawford, the most formidable contender for the office. Each had its own favorite but maintained a discreet, friendly attitude toward the others. Calhoun was the favorite of the opposition throughout 1823; Adams ranked second; Jackson, a poor third; and no other candidate had a following worthy of notice.

The August election stirred the Calhoun and Crawford partisans to greater activity. Somewhat surprised at the number of Calhoun legislators chosen in the counties west of the Yadkin, Crawford leaders spread the charge that Calhoun was

[65] John C. Calhoun to Ninian Edwards, Washington, Sept. 23, 1823, Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 496.

[66] *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 9, 1823. On September 23 Calhoun wrote Ninian Edwards that of the twelve North Carolina newspapers "six are for me; two for C-d; one for Adams, but preferring me to C-d; another for him, but not decided between C-d and myself; another against C-d, but not decided between A- and myself; and another not yet out." Ninian W. Edwards, *History of Illinois,* 496. Newspaper files of the 1820's are very incomplete. Only a few issues of the *Edenton Gazette* and (Halifax) *Free Press,* evidently claimed as Calhoun organs, have been found for the period of the campaign.

[67] *The Star,* Oct. 31, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer.*

a Federalist and the tool of Adams. They planned to visit Raleigh at the opening of the legislature for the purpose of exerting influence upon wavering legislators.[68] On the other hand, when the Calhoun leaders realized the extent of the pre-election activity and success of the Crawford partisans, they redoubled their efforts. They became convinced that

> leading partizans of the Radical candidate were actively, tho' secretly engaged in maturing a plan . . . calculated to ensure to Mr. Crawford the entire vote of N. Carolina.— They were ingeniously and industriously weaving a web—the ramifications of which should extend to every section of the State —and *fetter* public sentiment. The sovereign people, *nolens volens,* were to declare in favor of their magnus Apollo. The discovery of *this intrigue* induced the friends of "Calhoun and meazures" boldly to force into discussion *his* merits and qualifications; and it would seem incredible to state the rapidity, with which he has acquired public favor.[69]

In laying plans for an opposition ticket, the Calhoun leaders were concerned over the Adams following. "It was important, and *at first* difficult to deal with them properly. . . . Our plan was to shew, that, a similarity of views and principles governed in, and united these two gentlemen with the head of, the Cabinet; that it was impossible to run a *Northern* candidate with any prospect of success in the South; that our united efforts should be directed against the chieftain of Radicalism & &. This mode of procedure has been attended with the happiest result . . ."[70]

The *Register* voiced the opinion "that but one ticket will be voted for, that that will be the Republican ticket, and we cannot at present doubt it will consist of the friends of Mr. Crawford. This matter, however, will be put beyond question before the close of the approaching Session of our Legislature, which meets next month."[71] The *Western Carolinian,* expecting a nomination of candidates for electors during the legis-

[68] W. R. Swift to J. G. Swift, Washington, N. C., Oct. 31, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[69] A. S. H. Burges to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[70] A. S. H. Burges to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[71] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 17, 1823.

lative session and aware of the strength of the Crawford following, demanded of the members "that they select such candidates for Electors as will vote in accordance with the wishes and interests of their constituents," for the "people hitherto have elected those persons nominated by the General Assembly."[72] As it swung this fragile club of an alleged hostile public opinion over the heads of the Crawford members, none knew better perhaps than it that the only hope of Calhoun's receiving the vote of North Carolina lay in producing a popular revolution among a citizenship customarily indifferent toward presidential elections.

[72] *Western Carolinian,* Nov. 18, 1823.

CHAPTER III

CRAWFORD'S POSITION DEFENDED AND CONSOLIDATED

There was much of presidential politics, real and reputed, in the General Assembly of November 17, 1823-January 1, 1824. The first contest occurred in connection with the organization of the two houses. Bartlett Yancy of Caswell was unopposed for speaker of the Senate;[1] but there was a contest over the speakership of the House of Commons. Alfred Moore of Brunswick was elected over Robert Strange of the town of Fayetteville[2] by a small majority variously reported as nine and eleven.[3] The *Western Carolinian* proclaimed this election a test of the Crawford-Calhoun sentiment in the House and hailed Moore's election as a Calhoun victory.[4]

But on December 2, the firm of Joseph Gales & Son, publisher of the *Raleigh Register,* the leading Crawford organ, was elected public printer by a vote of 118 to 70 over Bell & Lawrence, publisher of *The Star,* which had been a Calhoun supporter for several months.[5] The *Western Carolinian* denied that the presidential question influenced the result, explaining it as a reward which the *Register's* "former Republican friends" could not withhold on account of long and valuable party service.[6] *The Star* declared that some Crawford men voted for and some Calhoun men against it, and that neither of the contests over the speakership and public printer turned solely

[1] *Journal of the Senate,* Nov. 17, 1823.
[2] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 17, 1823.
[3] *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 2, 1823.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 5, 1823.
[6] *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 16, 1823. Gales's election as state printer was disturbing to a Calhoun supporter who wrote Fisher: "I fear all is not well with you in Raleigh." Edmund Jones to Charles Fisher, Fort Defiance, Dec. 19, 1823, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

on the presidential issue.[7] The *Register* held the same opinion regarding the speakership contest.[8] The issue influenced but did not determine the result in each case.

The chief conflict in the General Assembly touching presidential politics was aroused by an attack of the enemies of Crawford upon two important features of the prevailing political system by which the Crawford forces expected to carry the State for their favorite—caucus nomination and choice of electors by general ticket.

In North Carolina, as elsewhere, both of these features of the political system had been criticised prior to the campaign of 1824.[9] Opposition to caucus recommendation of the party candidate for president was evident in 1808 and pronounced in 1816 and 1820;[10] but the caucus was so useful in securing party harmony and success that it was supported by most of the Republican leaders and accepted by the party rank and file. However, an increasing number of congressmen absented themselves from the caucus. In 1816 and 1820, the absence of organized Federalist opposition rendered the caucus unnecessary to achieve party victory; but, whereas in 1820 there was only one Republican candidate and no caucus nomination, several candidates, all avowed Republicans, were prominent in the approaching contest of 1824. It was generally believed that Crawford had more friends in Congress than any of his rivals, that they were determined to hold a caucus, and that a caucus, if held, would recommend him as the regular party candidate. The North Carolina delegation in the Congress which met in December, 1823, was favorable to Crawford and caucus; and the strong Crawford party in the General Assembly was expected before adjournment to meet in legislative caucus and formulate a Crawford electoral ticket.

The caucus and general ticket systems worked hand in glove to hamper the free and full expression of popular will in elections. They were powerful agencies for the choice of candidates and the control of elections by the dominant group

[7] *The Star,* Dec. 12, 1823, Jan. 2, 1824.
[8] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 5, 1823.
[9] *Cf. supra,* 38-42.
[10] E. Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency,* 91, 109-110, 117.

of politicians in the State. In the campaign of 1824, this dominant group was committed to Crawford for the presidency. Hence, in the campaign, opposition to these features of the political system was the policy of the champions not only of republican principles but also of Calhoun, Adams, and Jackson. North Carolina must be made safe for republicanism; but in 1824, what was of greater political consequence, it must be made unsafe for Crawford. Herein lay the strategy of the anti-Crawford forces.

There were prophecies that the General Assembly of 1823 would be the scene of much political maneuvering. The *Carolina Observer* of October 10 reported that Crawford leaders were planning to exert pressure for a legislative caucus, since "their only chance of success is in preventing the free expression of the public will." The *Western Carolinian* professed to have information "that some of the friends of Mr. Crawford residing on and near the Roanoke, have it in contemplation to make an attempt in the next Legislature to repeal the present electoral law of this State, in order that the Electors may be appointed by the Legislature." Crawford's strength was declared to be chiefly in the small counties of the East.

> If the Electors are chosen by the people, these small counties will only have their due weight in the election,— but if by the Legislature, they will have as many votes as the largest counties in the State. . . . If they [Crawford's friends] can command a majority of the members, and it is thought safest, then the Electors are to be chosen by the Legislature; but if a sure majority cannot be brought into this measure, then there is to be a *caucus,* to give the electoral vote of North Carolina to Wm. H. Crawford. . . . Were it necessary, we could even give the names of some of these political missionaries to Raleigh.[11]

The Calhoun newspapers circulated this reported scheme of attack on the electoral system, but professed no fear because the Crawford party would be in the minority. The *Register,* regarding the report merely as an attempt to injure Crawford, asserted that North Carolina Republicans were

[11] *Western Carolinian,* Oct. 14, 21, 1823; *The Star,* Oct. 31, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer.*

well satisfied with the present system.[12] Logic and events showed that the existing system was in greater danger of attack from the enemies than from the friends of Crawford.

On November 10, one week in advance of the convening of the General Assembly, the western convention of delegates from twenty-four western counties assembled in Raleigh to formulate a program of constitutional reform. This convention afforded to Fisher and other western anti-Crawford leaders an opportunity to exchange ideas and to lay plans. It was reported that Crawford was "largely in the minority . . . that not one-third of the members composing that meeting, could be counted on as friendly to his pretensions."[13]

On November 28, Beall of Iredell introduced in the House of Commons a resolution for the appointment of a committee to report on the expediency of repealing the general ticket law of 1815 and restoring the district system of choosing electors.[14] Beall regarded the district method as more republican. He attacked the general ticket law as hostile to the intent of the constitution and destructive of popular influence and interest in presidential elections. In his county, he said, the votes for electors numbered less than one-tenth of those for members of the legislature. "I will venture to say, that there is not a gentleman on this floor, but who will concede that the principle for which I contend is the most republican, the most correct. Yet they will oppose it, because they know that it is not so convenient to subserve their views." He stated that he would not vote against the repeal of the general ticket law, if by so doing he could secure for his favorite presidential candidate the fifteen electoral votes of North Carolina.[15]

John Stanly, a prominent Federalist of New Bern, joined in the attack on the general ticket system. The voters, not knowing the electors personally, had so completely lost interest that in each of the last three elections he doubted if 6,000 of the 60,000 voters in the State participated. He denied that the system gave to the State greater weight in elections or more

[12] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 31, 1823.
[13] *Carolina Observer,* Nov. 27, 1823.
[14] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 28, 1823.
[15] *The Star,* Jan. 23, 1824.

patronage, and urged the impropriety of concerted action between the East and the West with their different economic interests. "The east export naval stores, corn, lumber and cotton—to one market; the west drive their Beef to Augusta." The East, cursed with a greater slave population which increases the electoral vote of the State, should have more electors. Under the general ticket law, the West, exceeding the East in votes, can elect the whole ticket. "Let every district have his Elector and every man his vote." Furthermore, under the prevailing system, a congressional caucus decides who is to be president and a legislative caucus who are to be the electors. "There is not a greater fraud upon the Constitution, a greater curse, or more invasion of the rights of the people, than this Caucus System."[16]

The Beall resolution raised into high relief the caucus and general ticket systems and bore indirectly on presidential politics, sectionalism, and the surviving remnant of Federalism in the State. It was made the special order for a later day.[17] But before that day came, the major attack on the political system was launched with the introduction of the Fisher resolutions in the House of Commons.

When Charles Fisher of Salisbury entered the legislature of 1823, he was a recognized advocate of western interests and the director of the Calhoun campaign in the State. During the past eighteen months he had worked quietly but effectively to stimulate the Calhoun cause and to create something of a Calhoun organization. He was alert to the opportunities afforded by the legislature to advance the interests of his favorite for the presidency.

On December 2, Fisher introduced his resolutions[18] in the House of Commons and thereby provoked the principal debate of the session. Following a long preamble setting forth the objections to a congressional caucus, they proposed

First, That the Senators in Congress from this State be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, as a means of preserving the rights of the people in choice of President,

[16] *The Star*, Dec. 5, 1823.
[17] *Journal of the House of Commons*, Nov. 28, 1823.
[18] *Journal of the House of Commons*, Dec. 2, 1823.

to withhold their countenance from the practice of meeting in Caucus, by the Members of Congress; and that they use their exertions to prevent a nomination from being made in Caucus, of persons to fill the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

Second, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives be requested, to bring before Congress, and urge the passage of an amendment to the Constitution, providing that each State in the Union shall be laid off at stated periods, into Electoral districts, for the election of Presidents and Vice-Presidents of the United States.[19]

For three days, December 9-11, there was active debate on the motion of Bynum of Halifax for indefinite postponement of the resolutions.[20] Perhaps the ablest criticism of the caucus was by Fisher and two eastern Federalists, Iredell of the town of Edenton and Stanly of the town of New Bern; while the chief defence was by Blackledge of Beaufort, Bynum of the town of Halifax, and Strange of the town of Fayetteville.

In the interim between their introduction on December 2 and their consideration on December 9, Fisher discovered that

[19] The legislature of Tennessee had recently passed resolutions introduced by Felix Grundy, the first of which was similar in meaning and phraseology to the first of the Fisher resolutions. *The Star,* Nov. 28, 1823.

[20] Fisher of Rowan, Helme of Johnston, Hill of New Hanover, Shepperd of Stokes, Alston of Halifax, Croom of Lenoir, Iredell of the town of Edenton, Stanly of the town of New Bern, Mebane of Orange, and Williamson of Person opposed indefinite postponement, and Blackledge of Beaufort, Bynum of the town of Halifax, Roane of Burke, Brown and Rainey of Caswell, Taylor of Wake, Strange of the town of Fayetteville, Leonard of Brunswick, Martin of Rockingham, and McAuley of Orange urged it. The leading newspapers in the State published the preamble and resolutions and devoted editorial attention to them and the debate. The *Raleigh Register* secured full stenographic notes of the speeches as delivered, sent them to the speakers for correction, and published the corrected notes, beginning with its issue of March 2 and concluding with that of May 21, 1824. Some of the speeches were published by other newspapers. In the spring of 1824, J. Gales & Son, state printer and publisher of the *Register,* issued the debate in pamphlet form as the *Debate on Mr. Fisher's Resolutions against Caucuses in the House of Commons of North Carolina in Dec. 1823.* A reprint of this pamphlet may be found in A. R. Newsome, "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* IV (1927), 428-470, and V (1928), 65-96, 204-223, 310-328. Hereafter the reference to this work will be "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions."

he had made a tactical mistake in calling on the legislature to "instruct" the senators. In opening the discussion, he expressed his willingness to change the resolutions to meet the objection of anti-caucus men who denied the propriety of the legislature's instructing members of Congress,[21] so as to bring the question of caucus fairly before the House. However, according to the rules,[22] the Bynum motion for indefinite postponement precluded any amendment. The resolutions did not, therefore, result in a vote which indicated with exactness the cleavage over the caucus question.

The second resolution did not figure prominently in the discussion. The electoral amendment to the Constitution had been supported without success for many years by the State's delegation in Congress and was apparently without opposition in the State. At any rate, an amendment could not be adopted before the election of 1824, in which the fifteen electoral votes of North Carolina would be cast as a unit unless the law of 1815 should be repealed. And some of the leading Calhoun supporters, as well as the Crawford men, were opposed to its repeal.[23] The improbability of their adoption by the legislature suggests that the Fisher resolutions and the resulting discussion were designed to arouse public opinion against the pro-caucus Crawford forces.[24]

The first speaker in opposition to the resolutions declared that though they said "nothing concerning the candidates for Presidency . . . they certainly were intended to subserve the interest of one or more of the candidates for that office, and

[21] The right of instruction had been a partisan issue in the past, the Federalist party vigorously denying its existence. W. K. Boyd, *The Federal Period, 1783-1860,* 50; *Murphey Papers,* II, 1-5; E. R. Franklin, "The Instruction of United States Senators by North Carolina," *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers,* Series VII, 1-15.

[22] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 19, 1823. Rule xviii.

[23] Fisher's vote in 1822 showed his opposition to the repeal of the election law of 1815. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 19, 1822. When the pending Beall resolution came to a final vote, he was for indefinite postponement. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 16, 1823. The *Western Carolinian,* December 9, also opposed the Beall resolution.

[24] T. W. Blackledge asserted in the debate that the argument of the caucus critics was *"ad captandum vulgus."* "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* IV (1927), 450.

to prejudice the standing of another—of the one whom I believe to be the most worthy, and who is certainly the most popular candidate, among our constituents."[25] Then followed an evaluation of the various candidates and an endorsement of Crawford. Other speakers carried on the discussion of candidates; and the legislature became a forum of political debate and education for the entire State.

The critics attacked the caucus as at war with the spirit and intent of the constitution, in that it enabled members of Congress, a pre-existing body elected without reference to the views of the people on the presidency and for a different purpose altogether, to exercise indirectly in the choice of president a power directly forbidden by the constitution. It violated the principle of the separation of powers and, by preventing a choice by the House of Representatives, upset the compromise involved in the method of selecting the president. It enabled a self-created and corruptible aristocracy to usurp the rights of the people and deprive them of a voice in the selection of their rulers, by endowing its nominee with such prestige as to make sure his acceptance by the party. Moreover, with the disappearance of the Federalist party, the caucus had outlived its usefulness and only excuse for existence. The constitution provided a method of selecting the president—by electors or by the House of Representatives, if no one received a majority of the electoral vote; and any deviation from this method should require an amendment. Irresponsible and a creator rather than a reflector of public sentiment, the caucus was a menace to public liberty and should be killed before the law of usage established its permanence.

The defenders of the existing political system denied the right of instruction, and declared that the resolutions, if passed, would be inoperative on congressmen. The caucus was constitutional in that it was not prohibited and in that members of the caucus assembled in their private capacity only and merely expressed an opinion or recommendation of no more influence than it deserved with the voters, who were free to reject it. The caucus had been useful in achieving party unity

[25] *Ibid.*, IV (1927), 443-456.

and victory. It was needed to achieve the same results now more than ever, because the Federalist party was not dead and the Republican party was in great danger of division. It alone could unify the party and elect a president, thus preventing an election by the House of Representatives, where a small state had equal weight with a large one, and intrigue or corruption could influence the election. Prudence dictated, example sanctioned, and experience showed the safety of the caucus. The United States under the existing political system was the happiest, most fortunate, and prosperous nation on earth. Bynum expressed a common viewpoint when he declared that he would "oppose any measure whose object is an alteration in our present political system."[26]

Loyalty to Crawford, conservatism in face of any change, hostility to the right of instruction, and perhaps a quickened Republican consciousness stimulated by the able support of the resolutions by the two Federalists, Stanly and Iredell, combined to secure their indefinite postponement by a vote of 82 to 46.[27] They failed to gain the support of all the anti-Crawford members,[28] whereas the Crawford group in the main preserved its solidarity. The vote on the Fisher resolutions cheered the friends of Crawford who regarded it as a victory for their candidate. Calhoun and his friends in Congress were reported to be "astounded" and "chopfallen" over the result.[29] The victory strengthened the position of Crawford.[30]

Final vote on the Beall resolution to restore the district system of choosing electors had been postponed until disposition had been made of the Fisher resolutions. Then without further discussion, it was postponed indefinitely by a vote of 78 to

[26] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* IV (1927), 468.

[27] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 11, 1823.

[28] *The Star,* Dec. 19, 1823; *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 23, 1823; *Carolina Observer,* Dec. 18, 1823.

[29] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 17, 20, 1823, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 39, 41; Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 15, 1823, *ibid.,* X, no. 2, 38.

[30] "I can only add that Since the Death of Fishers resolutions the Crawford Ticket is gaining very fast." R. Vanhook to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Dec. 14, 1823, Mangum MSS.

45.[31] Fisher and the *Western Carolinian,* believing that Calhoun had a chance of winning the popular election and the entire electoral vote, opposed the Beall resolution.

Iredell, strongly anti-caucus but unable to support the Fisher resolutions because they incorporated the right of instruction, had hoped to defeat their postponement so that they could be amended. In his anti-caucus speech, he assured the General Assembly that, if they were postponed, a pure anti-caucus resolution would be introduced. On December 20, he brought forward a resolution

> that this General Assembly do hereby disapprove, and in the name of the people whom they represent, do protest against Caucus Nomination, or in any other interference in the election of President and Vice-President of the United States by the members of Congress, acting collectively, in cases where such power is not expressly given to them by the Constitution.

The Iredell resolution was indefinitely postponed without debate by a vote of 73 to 52.[32]

The Beall, Fisher, and Iredell resolutions were all supported by substantially the same group in the General Assembly. Thirty-six members supported all three; that is, approximately seventy-five per cent of the support received by each was received by all. These members were from twenty-four counties and two eastern boroughs. Fifteen of the counties were in the western part of the State. Seventeen of the twenty-four counties with common opposition to the three resolutions lay partly or wholly within a circle of fifty miles radius with Salisbury as the center, and twenty-two of the twenty-four lay within a similar circle of seventy-five miles radius. Republican orthodoxy and regularity still reigned throughout the State, except within the circle of Calhoun influence exerted by the *Western Carolinian* and Charles Fisher. Here was noticeable a strong tendency toward revolt, though half the representation

[31] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 16, 1823.

[32] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 20, 1823. Of the votes against postponement the counties in the West contributed 29 out of 46 on the Fisher, 25 out of 45 on the Beall, and 31 out of 52 on the Iredell resolutions. The *Carolina Observer,* December 25, asserted that twelve to fifteen anti-Crawford members voted for indefinite postponement of the Iredell resolution.

in the General Assembly of this area was still loyal to the existing political system as it related to national politics.

It is impossible to measure with exactness the extent to which the presidential question was influential in determining the support and outcome of proposals in the General Assembly. Certainly there was a conscious struggle between the more loyal elements of the Crawford and Calhoun groups. One of the Orange representatives wrote: "The presidential election is made to bear on many questions even the passage of a bill to erect a bridge over Roanoke at Halifax has been opposed by some of the friends of Crawford, because some of Calhouns friends were in favor of it."[33]

The Presidential election seems to agitate the whole representation and should any man unacquainted with the forms & principles of our government visit Raleigh at this time he would readily conclude that North Caro. or its Legislature had the power as well as the right to confer this distinguishing office upon whom she might please. The friends of each gentleman now before the public are ready to catch at any thing as an indication that their favorite is at the top of the wheel.[34]

William Polk, astute politician, careful observer, and a supporter of neither Crawford nor Calhoun, declared that in the General Assembly "the Presidential question occupied no little of the time and talent of the partisans of Crawford and Calhoun, the leading candidates in North Carolina." He estimated the Crawford strength at from ninety to one hundred members, and that of Calhoun at from fifty to sixty-five.[35]

Though Adams and Jackson each had a few supporters in the General Assembly, no evidence has been encountered of any systematic or vigorous promotion of their interests before December, 1823. It may be stated with reasonable assurance that such political revolt as is suggested by the support of the Beall, Fisher, and Iredell resolutions was conceived and executed chiefly by the Calhoun group. The Adams and Jack-

[33] James Mebane to [?], Raleigh, Dec. 19, 1823, Mangum MSS.

[34] W. H. Haywood, Jr., to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Dec. 20, 1823, Mangum MSS.

[35] William Polk to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 26, 1824, Mangum MSS.

son men for the most part followed the Calhoun leadership; but the anti-Crawford forces, divided in their choice among three candidates, could not easily be brought into "a concert of action."[36]

Crawford's friends in the North Carolina delegation at Washington were elated over the defeat of the resolutions, and some of his opponents were ready to concede to him the vote of the State.[37]

> We presume it may now be clearly inferred, from the decisions which have been made by the House of Commons, that our Legislature will neither interfere with the course heretofore pursued at Washington, in relation to a nomination of a candidate for the Presidency nor with our present Electoral Law. And to us, it as clearly appears that a majority of the Legislature are in favor of Mr. Crawford's election to the Pre[si]dency.[38]

Strengthened and elated by their victories in the General Assembly, the Crawford partisans proceeded to the selection of an electoral ticket which would cast the fifteen electoral votes of the State for Crawford. In October, the *Register* had expressed the opinion that but one ticket would be voted for, and that it would consist of the friends of Mr. Crawford.[39] It was generally understood by Crawford and anti-Crawford men that the customary legislative caucus would be held.[40] On the morning of December 24, notices were posted on the doors of both chambers of the legislature requesting "the members of the General Assembly favorable to the election of William H. Crawford, as President . . . to meet in the Senate

[36] Charles Fisher to Joe Carson, Salisbury, Jan. 6, 1824, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[37] "Branch now admits that Mr. Crawford will get the vote of our State. I trust our Legislature does as hansomely in forming their electoral ticket as they did upon other points." R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Dec. 29, 1823, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 285-286. As late as April, 1822, Branch was reported as a Crawford supporter. Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 494.

[38] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 26, 1823.

[39] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 17, 1823.

[40] W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 334; *Western Carolinian,* Oct. 21, Nov. 18, 1823; John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Mar. 18, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 479.

Chamber on this evening, at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of nominating Electors for the several districts in the State."[41] A Crawford electoral ticket was nominated;[42] and resolutions were adopted providing for the appointment of a committee of correspondence of seven persons to ascertain from the nominees whether they would serve and, if elected, vote for Crawford, and to fill any vacancies on the ticket which might arise.

Romulus M. Saunders pointed out to Bartlett Yancy, a member of the Crawford committee of correspondence, the tactical blunder of the Crawford managers in inviting to the caucus only the friends of Crawford.

> I fear we have by this impolitic step lost all that you had before gained—your proceedings is calculated to do an injury out of the State. The call should have been on the *republicans* & not for Mr. Crawfords friends alone—you should have expressed yourselves in favour of Mr. Crawford, *but to abide a caucus nomination.* . . . In the State too, it will be urged that your ticket is the Crawford ticket & not the republican one.[43]

[41] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 26, 1823.

[42] The Crawford ticket was composed of John Paxton of Rutherford, Meshack Franklin of Surry, Robert Williamson of Lincoln, James Legrand of Montgomery, Abraham Phillips of Rockingham, Alexander Gray of Randolph, Benjamin H. Covington of Richmond, Thomas Ruffin of Orange, Henry Seawell of Wake, John Hall of Warren, George Outlaw, Sen., of Bertie, Charles E. Johnson of Chowan, Thomas W. Blackledge of Beaufort, John Owen of Bladen, and William Blackledge, Sen., of Lenoir. *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 26, 1823. One change was made in this ticket before the election. Seawell declined to accept because he was holding a federal office, and the committee of correspondence selected Nathaniel Jones of Crabtree, Wake County, to fill the vacancy. *The Star,* Feb. 13, 1824. A report was circulated in the summer that Meshack Franklin would withdraw because the Crawford cause appeared hopeless; and some of the Crawford leaders thought the ticket would be strengthened by the withdrawal of Thomas Blackledge, Covington, and Legrand. But all four remained on the ticket. Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Surry County, July 25, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 44 and June 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[43] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 31, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 440. It was reported later by a Calhoun partisan that Yancy had been promised the appointment of Postmaster General if Crawford should be elected. W. R. Swift to J. G. Swift, New Bern, Jan. 26, 1824, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

The blunder strengthened the unity of the opposition[44] and enabled it to fasten the odium of caucus upon the Crawford cause. Since the meeting was called publicly and attended by others than Crawford's friends, the *Register* presented it as merely a meeting of members of the legislature, and not a caucus. But the opposition replied that the spectators in the galleries took no part in the proceedings, that it was absurd to say others attended when the invitation was to Crawford men only, and that in choosing and dictating to the people a Crawford ticket, it constituted itself a caucus.[45] The *Milton Gazette* declared that "North Carolina may very justly lay claim to considerable credit for having been the first State in the Union to nominate Mr. Crawford."[46]

Near the end of the legislative session, Governor Gabriel Holmes precipitated a renewal of the contest over the presidential question by transmitting to the House of Commons a copy of the anti-caucus resolutions which the legislature of Tennessee had passed and sent to the governors, with the request that it be laid before the state legislatures. With the resolutions was a message, in which the Governor said:

These resolutions . . . are couched in strong impressive language, supporting the Constitution of the United States zealously in its primitive purity, before innovation or rancorous faction distorted its plain, simple signification.

Whether the elections by the people that gave the Presidency to General Washington, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, were not as patriotic and constitutional as those that promoted Mr. Madison and Mr. Monroe to the Chief-Magistracy, is not a very difficult problem to solve; but whether the people would, or would not, have possessed the same patriotism and unanimity of sentiment without the existence of a Caucus, in the election of the two last named gentlemen to the Presidency, is a question that may appear more difficult of solution; but my sentiments are, that the people will always do right in using the elective franchise, if they are not disturbed or dictated to in their wise, deliberative councils.[47]

[44] Charles Fisher to Joe Carson, Salisbury, Jan. 6, 1824, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[45] *The Star,* Jan. 2, 1824.

[46] *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 3, 1824, quoting *Milton Gazette.*

[47] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 27, 1823.

A motion that the message be sent to the Senate with a proposal to print one copy for each member, "after being warmly opposed by Messrs. Taylor, Bynum, and Roane, and supported by Messrs. Helme, Stanly, Iredell, and Mebane,"[48] was carried by a vote of 64 to 58.[49] Two days later, the Senate indefinitely postponed the proposal to print, but only by the deciding vote of the speaker.[50] The opposition press commended the Governor's message against "caucusing," "replete with patriotic and republican doctrines," as an exercise of his right and duty of warning the "free people of North Carolina" against attempts to deprive them of their privileges, and exposed the harsh censure of the Governor by the Crawfordites.[51] The *Register,* which did not publish the message until placed on the defensive by *The Star,* accounted for the omission on the ground that "we did not wish to tell the tale of family disagreements abroad," and criticized Governor Holmes for manifesting a lack of respect for the impressive majorities which had recently defeated two resolutions on the same subject, brought forward by "gentlemen adverse to the election of Mr. Crawford as President." It alleged that the large vote received by the proposal was prompted by "motives of respect" for the Governor.[52]

The number of members attending the caucus of December 24, and the relative strength of the presidential candidates in the legislature were subjects of spirited newspaper discussion for several months. The Crawford press asserted that the caucus attendance exceeded one hundred and was, therefore, a majority of the General Assembly, which numbered one hundred ninety-six.[53] *The Star* contended that the caucus was a

[48] *The Star,* Jan. 2, 1824.

[49] *Journal of the House of Commons,* Dec. 27, 1823.

[50] *Journal of the Senate,* Dec. 29, 1823.

[51] *The Star,* Jan. 2, 9, 16, 1824; *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 6, 1824. The *Milton Gazette* was reported to have referred contemptuously to Governor Holmes as "*our corpulent* governor, filled with 'wrath and cabbage.'" *Carolina Observer,* Jan. 22, 1824. Governor Holmes, originally in favor of Adams, had recently shifted his support to Calhoun. A. S. H. Burges to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[52] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 6, 13, 1824.

[53] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 6, 1824; *ibid.,* Feb. 3, 1824, quoting *Milton Gazette.*

minority of the legislature, proof of which was the failure of the officers to record the names of those present.[54] A correspondent, asserting that certain spectators counted eighty-two, called for the publication of the names.[55] A list of seventy-nine names, assembled by spectators, was published;[56] and additions brought the number to ninety-four. Friends in Raleigh reported to R. M. Saunders a maximum attendance of seventy or eighty.[57] The evidence indicates an attendance slightly short of a majority.

Though the opposition claimed that the caucus attendance and the vote on the proposal to print the Governor's message were true indices of the Crawford strength,[58] there is more and stronger evidence that perhaps a slight majority of the legislature was in favor of Crawford. In addition to those present at the caucus, some Crawford supporters were out of town, sick, or, like Nathaniel Macon, opposed to caucus.[59] The Crawford friends in the legislature, according to the *Register,* numbered more than one hundred; and the remaining minority was divided almost equally between Calhoun, Adams, and Jackson.[60] The *Milton Gazette* placed the Crawford strength at one hundred fifteen or one hundred twenty;[61] while Yancy, speaker of the Senate, said it was a clear majority.[62] William H. Haywood, Jr., a Jackson man, said Crawford had a "decided majority";[63] and William Polk reckoned ninety to one hundred for Crawford, fifty to sixty-five for Calhoun; and twenty to thirty for Jackson as a fair estimate.[64] Then, too, the vote on the anti-caucus and electoral resolutions tends to indicate a heavy Crawford majority in the

[54] *The Star,* Jan. 2, 1824. [55] *Ibid.,* Feb. 6, 1824.
[56] *Ibid.,* Apr. 9, 1824, quoting *Carolina Observer.*
[57] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 31, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 440.
[58] *The Star,* Feb. 6, 1824. [59] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 6, 1824.
[60] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 6, 1824.
[61] *Ibid.,* Feb. 3, 1824, quoting *Milton Gazette.*
[62] P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Hillsboro, Jan. 4, 1824, Mangum MSS.
[63] W. H. Haywood, Jr., to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Dec. 20, 1823, Mangum MSS.
[64] William Polk to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 26, 1824, Mangum MSS.

House of Commons. Fisher reported, however, that "on the opening of the Legislature, we found that the members were divided in favor of Crawford, Calhoun, Adams, and Jackson, that Crawford had more than either of the other Candidates, but not as many as the others united."[65]

The General Assembly, which adjourned on January 1, 1824, had been the scene of sharp skirmishing between the Crawford and Calhoun forces. The "strongest prejudices" had been provoked and "the excitement consequently will not very readily subside."[66] The Crawfordites were elated over the outcome. They had successfully repulsed every attack on the political system upon which they counted for victory and had nominated a ticket of electors pledged for Crawford, who was slated for selection by a congressional caucus as the regular Republican candidate. As they viewed the divided minority opposition, the friendly congressional delegation, and the North Carolina voters habitually conservative and loyal to party, they looked forward with confidence to victory for Crawford in the November election.

The Calhoun forces, with little to encourage them, were nevertheless not without hope. Though in the minority, they were united and militant. They had advertised the virtues of their candidate and the vices of the caucus system by long debates in the General Assembly; and already the people were manifesting interest and some tendency to revolt. Already, the opposition leaders were planning an anti-Crawford ticket. By shrewd and aggressive appeals to state pride, popular rights, and self-interest, they might incite the citizenship and bring out a sufficient vote, particularly in the West, to win in the popular election. Most of the newspapers were hostile to Crawford and might be effective in the popular campaign. And by all means, the anti-Crawford strength in the State must be united in support of one opposition ticket. The Calhounites looked to the people for success; the Crawfordites, to the party leaders.

[65] Charles Fisher to Joe Carson, Salisbury, Jan. 6, 1824, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[66] Beverly Daniel to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 6, 1824, Mangum MSS.

During the winter of 1823-24, Crawford's friends in Congress were active in laying plans to hold a Republican congressional caucus early in 1824. After some hesitation, the friends of other candidates united[67] in opposition to a caucus in which the Crawford friends, though not in a majority, would certainly outnumber those of any opponent. Elsewhere, as in North Carolina, the caucus had been subjected to an attack of increasing intensity since early in 1822.[68] The friends of Jackson were particularly interested in destroying this fortress of the politicians; and in the fall of 1823 his supporters in the Tennessee legislature passed the Grundy resolutions denouncing the caucus, instructing Tennessee congressmen to oppose it, and calling on other legislatures to take similar action.[69] In the North Carolina legislature in 1823, the friends of Calhoun had been unsuccessful in their attacks on the congressional caucus. The *Register,* taking its cue from the *National Intelligencer,* defended the caucus as orthodox, democratic, and expedient.[70] Crawford's friends in Congress were encouraged by the position taken by the most influential paper in the State and by the defeat of the Fisher and Iredell resolutions; and they kept his supporters in the State informed of the preparations for a caucus.[71]

[67] Geo. McDuffie to Charles Fisher, Washington, Dec. 14, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 491; E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.,* 92-93; Curtis W. Garrison, The National Election of 1824, 56.

[68] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 5, 1822; *The Star,* Oct. 3, 1823.

[69] The address issued by the congressional caucus on February 14, 1824, stated that the legislatures of Maine, New York, Virginia, Georgia, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana had acted upon the Grundy resolutions; that the Republican members of the legislatures of the first four states had passed resolutions approving the caucus; that, in the remaining states mentioned, the resolutions had been postponed; and that only the legislature of Maryland and one house of the legislature of South Carolina had expressed concurrence with the Tennessee resolutions. *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 24, 1824. For the general attitude in 1823 and 1824 toward caucus, see E. Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency,* 128-131; M. Ostrogorski, "The Rise and Fall of the Nominating Caucus, Legislative and Congressional," *American Historical Review,* V (1899-1900), 253-283.

[70] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 29, Sept. 26, Nov. 7, 1823.

[71] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 4, 31, 1823, Jan. 20, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 435-443; R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Dec. 29, 1823, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 285-286.

So great was the opposition within and without Congress that the Crawford leaders experienced difficulty in arranging for the caucus.[72] None of Crawford's enemies and not all of his friends would attend. But his only hope of success lay in a caucus nomination,[73] and every effort was exerted to rally as many of his friends as possible. Secret plans for the meeting in December and January could not be carried out;[74] but finally it was scheduled for February 14, with the view of nominating Gallatin as vice-president and securing thereby the endorsement of the Crawford ticket by the convention in Pennsylvania, which was to meet at Harrisburg on March 4. An attendance of ninety or one hundred was expected.[75] On February 6, there appeared in the *National Intelligencer* an invitation to the caucus, signed by eleven congressmen, one of whom was H. G. Burton of North Carolina,[76] and also a declaration signed by twenty-four that one hundred eighty-one members of Congress thought it inexpedient to meet in caucus. The *Register* stated that an attendance of eighty, a number exceeding the caucus vote received by Monroe in 1816, would be sufficient to assure the people of the superiority of Crawford to any other candidate.[77]

The North Carolina delegation, almost solidly for Crawford, was counted on to furnish one of the largest state groups. In the Senate, Branch was known to be for Jackson and against caucus.[78] Friendship for Crawford and solicitations from Yancy, Albert Gallatin, and other close friends were not enough to overcome Macon's dislike of the caucus and to secure his

[72] E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.*, 90; R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 7, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 438.

[73] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 7, 1823, *ibid.*

[74] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 17, 1823, *Sprunt Publications*, X, no. 2, 39-40.

[75] R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Feb. 5, 1824, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 288-289; R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 442.

[76] *The Star*, Feb. 13, 1824.

[77] *Raleigh Register*, Feb. 13, 17, 1824.

[78] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 442

attendance.[79] In the House it was thought that Culpepper, Conner, and Mangum and perhaps Gatlin would not attend.[80] Mangum, who was for Crawford before going to Washington, was soon thereafter reported to be wavering in favor of Calhoun. He was strongly in favor of Crawford before the end of January, but refused to attend the caucus.[81]

On February 14, the congressional caucus recommended

[79] W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 336; Nathaniel Macon to Albert Gallatin, Washington, Feb. 13, 14, 1824, Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin,* 595-597. Macon, however, regarded the plan of a national caucus as preferable to that of state nominations. He objected to a caucus because it was unknown to the constitution, produced so much electioneering in Congress as to border on intrigue and bargain, and did not recognize the opinion of the minority. He believed that the electors should choose the president and vice-president. Nathaniel Macon to Martin Van Buren, Buck Spring, May 9, 1823, Van Buren Papers and a copy in Nathaniel Macon Papers, 1804-1837, 20. In his reply to Yancy's letter urging him to attend the caucus, Macon wrote: "If I attend; might it not, nay would it not be said, that after having refused more than 20 years and that too in the troublesome time of war and the Hartford convention, that now in time of peace the principles or practice is changed; and that every man has his price, and that Crawford, the master intriguer, is the first and only one, who has been able to find and touch the chord which produced the change. . . . My great objection to attending a caucus, is that the minority yield their opinion, and support what they disapprove." Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1923, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 67, 69. Saunders hoped that Macon could be prevailed upon to call the caucus and believed that he would at least attend. He advised that leading Crawford friends in the North Carolina legislature urge his attendance. R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 17, 1823, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 40. Yancy had already urged Macon to come out plainly on this question, and Macon strongly considered attending. "I have often in my life had to regret differing in opinion with my friends, and never was it more unpleasant or disagreeable than in the present case; and all that I shall now say is that I have not yet decided to attend the caucus." Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 12, 1823, *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2, 68-69. On January 31, 1824, he wrote that "I have not decided to attend." He thought the friends of Crawford should have convened in December. "The strong side rarely gains by delay." Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 31, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 42-43.

[80] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 31, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 441.

[81] P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Hillsborough, Jan. 4, 1824, Mangum MSS.; Willie P. Mangum to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 287.

Crawford for president and Gallatin for vice-president. It issued an address to the Republicans of the United States asserting the regularity of the meeting, lamenting the refusal of many to attend, alleging the popularity of the caucus, voicing alarm over the threatened Republican dismemberment and the consequent danger of a revived Federalist party, and calling for union and concert of action to assure the continued ascendency of the party.[82] The caucus attendance was even smaller than expected. Only sixty-six members out of a total of two hundred sixty-one were present. The vote was 64 for Crawford, 2 for Adams, 1 for Jackson, and 1 for Macon. North Carolina, with nine members present, was one of the four states from which a large majority of the attendance was drawn.[83] Only New York with sixteen and Virginia with fifteen furnished more.

The *Register* was surprised at the small attendance but declared it large enough to produce the desired effect of uniting the Republicans and preventing an election by the House. It called upon all Republicans to "rally around the venerated banner of the party" and support the "national candidates."[84] In North Carolina, the Crawford electoral ticket, formed nearly two months prior to his choice by the congressional caucus, was already confronted with the prospect of an organized opposition.

[82] *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 24, 1824.

[83] The nine were all members of the House: Spaight, Hall, Williams, Gatlin, Long, Saunders, Burton, Hooks, and Edwards. Branch and Macon of the Senate, and Conner, Vance, Mangum, and Culpepper of the House, did not attend. *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 24, 1824. Two of Crawford's 64 votes in the caucus were given by proxy.

[84] *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 24, 1824. The estimate that thirty Crawfordites did not attend the caucus, made by the *Register* and *National Intelligencer,* was doubted by the opposition press. *The Star,* Feb. 27, 1824.

CHAPTER IV

THE FORMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S TICKET

Though the Crawford press appeared confident that but one electoral ticket would be presented to the people of North Carolina, it was stated by the opposition before the meeting of the General Assembly that "the public voice calls for an electoral ticket in opposition to Mr. Crawford—and such a ticket *will be* proposed to the people."[1]

Soon after the defeat of the Beall resolution to re-establish the district system of choosing electors, it was reported that arrangements were in progress to form a Calhoun ticket;[2] and Fisher's letters to Washington were to the same effect.[3] Only two days after the Crawford ticket was formed, *The Star* declared that the anti-Crawford legislators, deeming it improper to dictate to the people, would not hold a legislative caucus; but that, from members and letters received by them, it was quite well understood who would compose the "PEOPLE'S TICKET."[4]

The formation of an opposition ticket was greatly facilitated by the blunder of the Crawford leaders in inviting only Crawford men to the legislative caucus. Thus separated from

[1] *The Star,* Nov. 7, 1823, quoting *Carolina Sentinel.* As early as June, some of the Calhoun leaders had decided to organize a Calhoun ticket during the next General Assembly. Hamilton Jones to J. G. Swift, Salisbury, June 24, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[2] James Mebane to [?], Raleigh, Dec. 19, 1823, Mangum MSS.

[3] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 31, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 440.

[4] *The Star,* Dec. 26, 1823. The *Richmond Enquirer* of December 30 stated that a large minority caucus on December 25 had formed a Calhoun ticket. W. E. Dodd, *The Life of Nathaniel Macon,* 336. One other report of a secret Calhoun caucus, said to have numbered twenty or thirty, has been encountered. *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 3, 1824, quoting *Milton Gazette.* While the Calhoun leaders probably conferred with each other during the legislative session, no Calhoun ticket was formed.

the Crawfordites, the friends of the other three candidates were soon brought together in the plan to form a People's ticket. According to the plan as developed by Fisher, Adams would have only one friend on the ticket, "Mr. *Mebane,* and He extremely lukewarm"; Jackson would have five; and Calhoun, nine. Jackson's friends were satisfied and Adams' acquiescent. "In the event Calhoun is out of the question, every one of his friends go to Jackson." Though no caucus was held, the friends of the People's ticket exchanged ideas; and, except for a few districts about which there was divided opinion, it was "pretty well understood who will compose the ticket. . . ."[5]

By January 6, the people of the several districts were reported to have interchanged sentiments, with the result that in a few days candidates for electors "of the people's own selecting" will be announced. The issue then will be whether "an usurping *caucus,* of a *minority* of the Legislature, or the PEOPLE shall rule."[6] On January 8, a "numerous and respectable" meeting of the citizens of Washington, Beaufort County, put forward Calhoun for the presidency, recommended William A. Blount as the People's elector of that district, and appointed a committee of correspondence to "correspond with our fellow citizens throughout the State, and to devise measures to promote the success of the People's Ticket."[7] Thus, the first Calhoun elector was recommended by a public meeting—an occurrence highly pleasing to the Calhoun leaders; but they feared the promotion of this method as a policy. "We could have a meeting here, & so could you, I have no doubt, for the same purpose," wrote one of them, "but I am afraid if the thing is started in earnest, that Jackson & Crawford too, would be recommended in too many places; so I think it best to be silent."[8]

[5] Charles Fisher to Joe Carson, Salisbury, Jan. 6, 1824, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[6] *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 6, 1824.

[7] *The Star,* Jan. 16, 1824; *Carolina Sentinel,* Jan. 24, 1824. The leading spirit in planning and directing the Washington meeting was W. R. Swift, a Calhoun partisan and a cousin of Gen. Joseph G. Swift of New York. W. R. Swift to J. G. Swift, New Bern, Jan. 26, 1824, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[8] B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 500.

Already there was coming into view the phenomenon of the campaign in North Carolina—the rapid movement for Jackson. Already it was a source of alarm to the Calhoun men, who sensed the potential appeal of Jackson to the same people in general whose support they themselves wished to enlist. "Our cause with the people, is becoming daily more popular, and would . . . succeed . . . if the friends of Jackson, who seem to be *intoxicated with military glory,* do not start a ticket for him, of which I am now, more afraid than ever."[9] The danger that their plan of popular appeal, by which alone they hoped to defeat Crawford, might result in a Jackson ticket to divide the anti-Crawford forces or possibly a Jackson movement which might absorb that of Calhoun, was cause for careful planning—even a modification of campaign strategy.

The Star of January 16 announced the nomination of Josiah Crudup of Wake and James Mebane of Orange as Calhoun electoral candidates on the People's ticket. During the same month, a "large meeting" in Lincolnton selected General Peter Forney,[10] a revolutionary patriot of wide popularity, whose eldest son, Daniel M. Forney,[11] had helped negotiate, under appointment by Monroe and instructions from Calhoun, the Indian Springs Treaty of 1821 with the Creeks and had been in Raleigh as state senator in 1823 while the Calhoun campaign was being planned. Already some of the Crawford leaders were fearful of the advantage which the People's ticket might reap on account of the method of its formation and the popularity of some of its electoral candidates.[12]

The formation of a Calhoun ticket was not a spontaneous popular movement. It was directed by a secret committee at Raleigh in accordance with the general plan agreed upon during the meeting of the legislature. One member of the committee was the Raleigh postmaster, B. B. Smith, who kept in close

[9] B. B. Smith, to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 499.

[10] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 3, 1824.

[11] J. H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* II, 244-245; *American State Papers, Indian Affairs,* II, 248-254.

[12] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 442.

touch with the manager of the Calhoun campaign in the State, Charles Fisher of Salisbury. The secret Calhoun committee, with Smith and Judge Potter carrying on an extensive correspondence, was busy during January and February, choosing, notifying, and announcing men for the People's ticket.[13] In at least one case, it seems to have arranged for a nomination by public meeting—that of John Giles at a meeting in Salisbury on February 18.[14]

There was division of opinion as to whether the ticket should be called the Calhoun or the People's ticket; but the latter name, preferred by Fisher, prevailed.

The committee met last evening. . . . [It] maturely considered your suggestion, in regard to calling ours, the Peoples & not the Calhoun ticket. They are still of the opinion tho', that it would be better to call it the Calhoun ticket, yet, as it has thus far, been announced as such, &, a deep impression has already made in its favour, they have concluded in all *future annunciations simply to call it the Peoples ticket.* It is possible, by this course, the friends of Jackson may become reconciled, but they are an obstinate sett.[15]

[13] B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, Feb. 7, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 499-504. "Who is to be the elector in the Chatham district, & also in the Guilford district. . . . We shall I think probably give the names of Genl. M. Stokes, Genl. Forney, Thos. Settle, Jo's Hawkins, Genl. Dudley, Dr. Martin & Walter F. Leake esqr. in the Star, of next week." B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 500-501. In *The Star* of January 30, Leake of Richmond County and Dudley of Wilmington were announced as Calhoun electoral candidates, and in the issue of February 6, Dr. William Martin of Pasquotank. William S. Blackledge of Craven had been announced in the issue of January 23.

[14] "How has it happened that you or Mr. Giles, have not been announced in your district? . . . Our ticket ought to be fitted up as soon as possible, and kept constantly before the people. You should have it given in your paper [*Western Carolinian*] every week, accompanied with a handsome editorial article." B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Feb. 7, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 502. Eleven days after the date of this letter, a public meeting at Salisbury of citizens from Rowan and Davidson counties nominated Giles, who declared Calhoun his first choice and Jackson his second. Fisher addressed the meeting at length against caucus. A motion to take a vote of preference of Calhoun or Jackson was overruled. *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 24, 1824.

[15] B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Feb. 7, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 502.

The Jackson following in North Carolina had not engaged in much public promotion of its candidate, but it was admitted by the Calhoun men to be considerable. A separate Jackson ticket would be fatal to Calhoun and would insure success to Crawford. The Calhoun leaders professed to believe that a separate Jackson ticket was being urged by the friends of Crawford. Fisher besought William Polk, chief promoter of Jackson in the State, to discourage a scheme which "will operate as much against Jackson as against Calhoun." The Jackson interest cannot stand alone; but a union of Jackson and Calhoun under the People's ticket will "carry us Safe through, and release N° Ca. from the yoke of proud Virginia. If, our ticket, carries, it is just as likely that Jackson will get the whole vote as that C-n will." He asserted that the friends of Calhoun "have acted on principle and in good faith, in uniting with those of Jackson in the formation of a ticket."[16]

The earliest plan of the Calhoun leaders was to bid for the Jackson-Adams vote by using the name People's ticket and by placing on it a representation of the Jackson and the Adams following.[17] The majority, however, must be for Calhoun;[18] and the minority should not be averse to him.[19]

[16] Charles Fisher to William Polk, Salisbury, Feb. 3, 1824, Polk MSS.

[17] General Dudley was regarded as a strong Jackson man. A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Feb. 27, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 291-293. General Forney stated later in the campaign that Jackson men were responsible for his being placed on the ticket. *Catawba Journal,* Oct. 12, 1824, quoting *Western Carolinian.* However, early in 1824, Forney and also James Mebane were regarded by Jackson men as favorable to Adams. A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Mar. 21, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 293-296.

[18] General Calvin Jones, a Jackson leader who conferred with the Calhoun committee on February 6, thought that there should be five or six Jackson men on the People's ticket. "I told him I expected there would be 3 or 4, and after this he seemed to be pretty well contented." B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Feb. 7, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 503.

[19] The Calhoun committee preferred Thomas to Robert Love as electoral candidate from the extreme western district, because the latter was declared to be "a very obstinate man, & if elected to support Jackson, he would vote for no other man, but not so with the Genl. he will vote for Calhoun if he stands the best chance." B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 501. Some objection was raised

Fisher had strong hopes that Calhoun would carry Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland and North Carolina, in addition to South Carolina; but the Jackson leaders were not so sanguine of his strength. In fact, Archibald D. Murphey believed that Calhoun could carry only South Carolina; that, on the basis of recent letters received, Pennsylvania would go for Jackson; and that, in this event, Calhoun's friends in North Carolina would be forced to give him up.[20] It was a question of no little concern, then, whom the People's ticket would support in case of Calhoun's withdrawal.

Since the beginning of 1824, there had been an understanding that the Jackson men would not start a separate ticket if the People's ticket would support Jackson in the event that Calhoun had no prospect of success.[21] The rapid growth of the Jackson movement and the increased demand for a separate ticket in his behalf soon forced the Calhoun committee, in defense of its cause, to agree with Polk and his Jackson lieutenants that, in return for Jackson support of the People's ticket, the electors

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by a Calhoun leader to Thomas Settle on the ground "that while he is the friend of Calhoun he will not be sufficiently the enemy of Crawford." A. H. Shepperd to Charles Fisher, Salem, Jan. 18, 1824, Charles F. Fisher Papers, 1758-1896.

[20] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, Feb. 7, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 289-290.

[21] "In North Carolina, the friends of Jackson will not start another ticket, with the understanding that the one formed will support him, should I have no prospects." John C. Calhoun to Virgil Maxcy, Feb. 27, 1824, W. M. Meigs, *The Life of John Caldwell Calhoun,* I, 308. Smith of the Calhoun committee reported to Fisher concerning the Jackson friends: "They say if they could be satisfied that the *People's ticket,* in the event *Calhoun* should be out of the question, would support *Jackson,* should he stand the best chance, they would unite heart & hand in its support. Genl. Calvin Jones called on me yesterday to ascertain for whom, the Peoples elector's would vote, should Calhoun be out of the question. I told him for the most *popular anti-caucus candidate—Genl. Jackson or Mr. Adams.* He seemed perfectly satisfied. . . . But I think notwithstanding all his apparent acquiescence in our arrangements, that he, & others, if they could, would instantly start an entire ticket for Jackson. They say that a Jackson ticket, would beat both the Crawford & Calhoun ticket. . . . I am glad you wrote to Colo. Polk. I hope his son's handsome Circular, & your letter, will put a damper on his feelings." B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Feb. 7, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 502-503.

would agree, in case of success, to support Calhoun or Jackson, whichsoever should appear stronger or more likely to defeat Crawford. The terms of the agreement were made known by Polk and Judge Potter to those electors who had already been chosen. The evidence is not entirely clear as to whether the Adams following was a party to the agreement and whether Adams was mentioned as a contingent beneficiary in case of victory for the People's ticket.[22] The general understanding of the public in the campaign, however, was that a victorious People's ticket would vote for the strongest candidate, be it Calhoun, Jackson, or Adams.[23]

The agreement made by Polk with the Calhoun committee was regretted and distrusted by Murphey and soon even by Polk himself. Murphey declared that the ticket as thus far framed was for Calhoun, and that Jackson was not the first or even the second choice of its majority. Without doubting the sincerity of the Calhoun committee, he was convinced that the electors would not be "bound by an agreement of their friends in Raleigh. . . . I have more than one reason to think that it is not seriously intended by at least some few of Mr.

[22] Blackledge, who had received letters from both Polk and Potter in February, wrote that "the understanding . . . at Raleigh between the Friends of Mr. Calhoun & Genrl. Jackson . . . is indeed Nuse to me." He could not subscribe to it on account of his decided Calhoun preference and *"in justice to the many & respectable friends of Mr. Adams* in this section of the State." W. S. Blackledge to William Polk, Mar. 25, 1824, Polk MSS. Thomas J. Green of Warrenton likewise understood that Adams had no connection with the People's ticket. Thomas J. Green to William Polk, Warrenton, Oct. 12, 1824, Polk MSS. However, William Martin, who received his information from Judge Potter's letter of February 11, understood that the "friends of the different candidates" compromised by agreeing *"to unite in supporting the Peoples ticket upon condition that the Electors on that Ticket—in case of its success—would pledge themselves to support either Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Adams, or Genrl. Jackson whichsoever should appear to have the best prospect in the Union about the time of the election or withdraw from the Ticket"*; and he accepted the compromise, allowing his name to remain on the ticket. William Martin to William Polk, Elizabeth City, July 13, 1824, Polk MSS. The *Hillsborough Recorder,* May 19, 1824, likewise understood that the People's ticket was a compromise of the Adams, Calhoun, and Jackson men. But the *Catawba Journal,* an Adams paper, stated that the ticket was begun by the friends of Adams and Calhoun only. *Catawba Journal,* Oct. 12, 1824.

[23] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 17, 1824.

Calhoun's leading friends to use Genl. Jackson's name for any purpose but to help their Favorite, and that they have no Idea of voting for him in scarcely any event." Observance of the agreement "is a Surrender of Genl. Jackson's Chance in this State." A "Jackson Ticket" of electors, who might regard Calhoun as second choice, should be formed.[24]

Since the first of the year, nine names had been placed on the People's ticket, most of whom were Calhoun men. Then, for more than a month the Jackson-Calhoun rivalry halted the formation of the ticket. When the business was resumed late in March, it was under the direction of the Jackson and not the Calhoun leaders; for Calhoun's presidential campaign in North Carolina, as in the nation at large, was virtually dead.

The most striking feature of the campaign of 1824 in North Carolina was the late but rapid and powerful movement in favor of Andrew Jackson. Though there was no public promotion of his cause by press or political leaders until the end of 1823 and though the Calhoun and Crawford campaigns were already well under way with electoral tickets before the people or in process of formation, the Jackson movement soon excited popular enthusiasm, absorbed the Calhoun cause, and early in March made Jackson the chief contestant against Crawford for the fifteen electoral votes of North Carolina.

Andrew Jackson had been mentioned for the presidency as early as 1815;[25] but the first public promotion of his candidacy began in Tennessee in 1822. On July 20, members of the Tennessee legislature passed resolutions submitting his name to the consideration of the people of the United States.[26] So violative of all precedent was his nomination that his promoters considered it indispensable that the system of congressional caucus be broken down. In the spring of 1822, the movement for Jackson in North Carolina may be said to have been begun by W. B. Lewis, one of the Jackson promoters in Tennessee. During a visit to his father-in-law, Montfort Stokes of Wilkes

[24] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Feb. 27, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 291-293.

[25] J. S. Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* I, 279.

[26] *Ibid.,* I, 327-328; Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson. Portrait of a President,* 33-34.

County, Lewis found him already committed to Calhoun; but, though surprised to hear of Jackson's candidacy, Stokes readily agreed to support him as next choice, if Calhoun should not be a candidate.[27] Stokes was a warm personal friend and admirer of Jackson, a United States Senator, and one of the prominent and influential leaders of the Republican party in North Carolina.

During the summer of 1823, Lewis was host for a few days to Col. William Polk of Raleigh, who earlier in life had lived in Tennessee for several years and was there then on a business trip. He discussed presidential politics with his guest, whom he regarded as a "leading Federalist of North Carolina . . . who, on account of his high military services in the revolutionary war, his energy of character, his moral worth, and great wealth, was one of the most distinguished and influential men in the State." Polk was bitter against Adams, whom he regarded as a traitor to the Federalist party, and, though seeming to lean towards Crawford, was undecided as to whom he would support. Lewis showed him a copy of Jackson's letter of November 12, 1816, urging Monroe to follow a non-partisan policy in the formation of his cabinet; whereupon "his countenance became animated with joy and delight, and he replied, then *he* is my man for the presidency—'Henceforth, from this very moment, until the election is over will I give him my cordial and zealous support.' "[28]

William Polk's influence, ability, and tireless labor in conference and correspondence contributed much to the Jackson movement in North Carolina.[29] His ablest co-laborer was

[27] J. S. Bassett, "Major Lewis on the Nomination of Andrew Jackson," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. 33, part 1, 25-26.

[28] John Haywood to William Polk, Raleigh, Aug. 22, 1823, Polk MSS.; J. S. Bassett, "Major Lewis on the Nomination of Andrew Jackson," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, New Series, Vol. 33, part 1, 21-22. Early in 1823, Polk had been solicited in vain by a printer to advance money for the establishment of a Jackson paper in Raleigh. Nathaniel P. Palmer to William Polk, Hillsborough, Jan. 5, 1823, Polk MSS.

[29] "The union of Jackson's and Calhoun's friends will certainly give to the former the vote of the two Carolinas. . . . I have not the least doubt but that the change which has been recently made in No.

Archibald D. Murphey of Hillsboro, foremost advocate of an extensive state program of public education and internal improvements designed to stop emigration, increase the wealth of the State, and free it from the expensive and humiliating economic dependence on Virginia and South Carolina. Murphey likewise was in Tennessee in 1823.[30]

Crawford and Calhoun so completely monopolized political interest in the State, that the Jackson leaders labored quietly, if at all, during the fall and early winter of 1823. A mere notice appeared of Jackson's election to the United States Senate in 1823.[31] A communication signed "Middle States," urging Jackson for the presidency, drew an editorial admission of his high integrity, character, and talent, but an expression of fear that he lacked "moderation and prudence," a "competent knowledge of our diplomatic relations," and the necessary qualifications of a "*judicious* President."[32] Jackson's following in the General Assembly of 1823, according to Polk, numbered twenty to thirty.[33] There is nothing in the legislative discussions, in which Crawford and Calhoun figured so prominently, or in the correspondence of the period, to indicate that Jackson's cause was considered with any seriousness, or, indeed, that he had a cause in North Carolina.

The first effort in the systematic, public promotion of Jackson in North Carolina was made "by the friends of Old Hickory at a late period of the Session . . . by disemenating sundry pamphlets throughout the State favourable to his pretensions." These pamphlets produced "an effect beyond calculation," particularly in the West.[34] Polk received reports from

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Carolina, has been owing to the extraordinary exertions of some of the Genl's friends—and to *none so much as yourself.*" Wm. B. Lewis to William Polk, Nashville, Apr. 18, 1824, Polk MSS.

[30] A. D. Murphey to Thomas Ruffin, Nashville, Aug. 14, 1823, *Murphey Papers,* I, 286.

[31] *The Star,* Oct. 24, 1823.

[32] *Western Carolinian,* Oct. 24, 1823.

[33] William Polk to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 26, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[34] William Polk to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 26, 1824, Mangum MSS. Polk wrote that he was acquainted with all the candidates but had taken Jackson's side and would promote his election, "not through *thick* & *thin,* but fairly and honestly." He was in correspond-

men who professed to be in touch with public sentiment that Jackson's strength lay with the silent masses of the people and was therefore greatly underestimated. "The air is made to ring with the names of the other candidates, in the mouths of a few . . . vociferous proclaimers," but "General Jackson is decid[ed]ly the choice of the people."[35] The potentiality of his appeal to the mass of common people was not unknown to the Jackson leaders.

> Among the more common and illiterate class of the community, they are illy acquainted with the characters and qualifications of the persons held forth as candidates for this office. . . . In the name of Jackson the glorious exploits which have crowned his military career are fresh in the memory of every man; these want but the tincture of retrospection to excite in the bosoms of the populace those feelings, which those truly noble, and glorious exploits of his Life, calls for at the hands of righteousness & gratitude. . . . The large majority whom opportunity have debared from general information—are more familiarly acquainted with those actions in the history of Genl. Jackson, which have been of general notorarity; and for which they are willing to promote him; because, by them they appreciate his worth.[36]

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ence with a number of members of Congress on the prospects of Jackson in the country at large. He stated in the letter to Mangum that he did not wish to throw away his vote "on a shadow." The Jackson pamphlet was distributed with the issue of *The Star,* Jan. 2, 1824. The author has not been able to locate a copy of the pamphlet.

[35] John D. Hawkins to William Polk, Feb. 14, 1824, Polk MSS. On January 26 Hawkins, who had been asked by Polk to be a Jackson electoral candidate on the People's ticket, wrote Polk of plans for a public meeting in Warrenton whose object was to select a Jackson electoral candidate. Polk-Yeatman Papers, 1707-1915. Polk's son wrote from Mecklenburg that "the general is decidedly the most popular candidate in this county." Thos. G. Polk to William Polk, Feb. 8, 1824, *ibid.* The *Hillsborough Recorder* reported that "since the 8th of January, a great change has taken place in the popular sentiment, in this section of country, in regard to Gen. Jackson." *Carolina Observer,* Feb. 26, 1824.

[36] Thomas Jefferson Green to William Polk, Warrenton, Feb. 2, 1824, Polk MSS. The people of the State were deplorably deficient in education. Ignorance and illiteracy were very prevalent, especially in the rural regions; and the population of the seven principal towns in 1820 was less than 20,000. C. L. Coon, *The Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina: A Documentary History, 1790-1840,* I, xi, 188.

In North Carolina a powerful appeal to the "bosom" or heart would be efficacious in securing votes. Polk became the focus of correspondence and conference urging the formation of a Jackson ticket. The People's ticket should favor the people's candidate; and a Jackson ticket would triumph over all others that could be started against it, or would at any rate encourage his friends in other states.[37] "Genl. *Bryan, of Granville,* has been here, endeavouring in conjunction with *Colo. Polk & Wm. Drew* . . . to get up a ticket for old hickory. . . . I am afraid they will not consent to drop their man," wrote Smith of the Calhoun committee.[38] Saunders reported with evident joy that Senator Branch was encouraging the formation of a separate Jackson ticket in the State.[39] Before the end of February Macon believed that Calhoun had withdrawn from the contest. He had heard of plans for Jackson meetings in Washington and Hillsborough, and for "great exertions . . . for the General in North Carolina."[40] Calhoun circulars to local leaders sometimes brought forth the response that "a Great Majority are in favour of Genl. Jackson."[41] The Calhoun leaders were alarmed. Fisher urged Polk to discourage the movement for a Jackson ticket, which was being encouraged by the Crawford forces to divide the anti-caucus vote.[42]

The Jackson men, who at first hoped to secure the vote of the People's ticket only in the event that Calhoun's chances were hopeless, were able soon to force an arrangement with the Calhoun organization which placed Jackson upon an equality with Calhoun—he who should prove to be the stronger

[37] Thomas Jefferson Green to William Polk, Warrenton, Feb. 2, 1824, Polk MSS.; A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, Feb. 7, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 289-290.

[38] B. B. Smith to Charles Fisher, Raleigh, Jan. 24, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 499.

[39] R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Feb. 5, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 289.

[40] Nathaniel Macon to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 24, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[41] Robt. Love to John Gray Blount, Waynesville, Mar. 16, 1824, John Gray Blount Papers, 1777-1873.

[42] Charles Fisher to William Polk, Salisbury, Feb. 3, 1824, Polk MSS. The *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 30 and Feb. 6, 1824, reported the receipt of communications containing proposed Jackson electoral tickets.

was promised the vote of the People's ticket in case of success. Nevertheless, this arrangement did not stop the movement for a separate Jackson ticket. His friends regarded the People's ticket compromise as likely to breed confusion and popular distrust which might result in defeat or, if successful, in the choice of Calhoun against the honest views of the people.[43] On February 21, a public meeting in Warren County declared for Jackson, recommended William Drew of Halifax as elector, and appointed a correspondence committee to "concentrate and secure the vote of the People's Ticket" for Jackson.[44] The Calhoun papers urged continued cooperation between the friends of Jackson and Calhoun in support of the People's ticket against caucusing, radicalism, and Crawford, as the only assurance of victory.[45] But there is reason to believe that the growing Jackson strength was destined either to capture the People's ticket or to launch a separate

[43] John D. Hawkins to William Polk, Feb. 14, 1824, Polk MSS.; A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Feb. 27, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 291-293. It was pointed out that the slightest suspicion of playing a double game before the people would render the People's ticket vulnerable to ruinous attack by the opposition. The friends of Jackson believed that Calhoun, whose name had been and would probably continue to be more prominently associated with the People's ticket, though popular on account of his ability and personal magnetism, could not secure as large a popular vote as Jackson. "Printers may puff, office men may dogmatize, politicians may calculate . . . but rely upon it, the effectual voice of the people, now small and still, and scarcely regarded amidst the clamor that exists, will, at the next election, be uttered in the majesty of its power, in favor of Andrew Jackson." *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 5, 1824, communication signed "Columbianus." The *Hillsborough Recorder,* an Adams organ, asserted March 10, that the growth of Jackson sentiment throughout the West was remarkable.

[44] *The Star,* Mar. 19, 1824. Drew had been active in behalf of Jackson for several weeks; but, in the fall of 1823, he was "decidedly in favor of John Q. Adams." Wm. Drew to [?], Halifax, Nov. 4, 1823, Legislative Papers, 1823. On the same day as the Warren meeting, a "large and respectable" public meeting in Concord denounced caucus nominations but, though practically unanimous in preferring Jackson, Calhoun, or Adams to Crawford, refused to declare for either. *Western Carolinian,* Mar. 2, 1824.

[45] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 17, 1824; *The Star,* Feb. 27, 1824. There is some evidence that Calhoun newspapers refused to publish communications from the friends of Jackson. *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 24, 1824, communication signed "Back Countryman."

Jackson ticket. However, the blow which destroyed Calhoun's hopes in North Carolina, as in the nation, was delivered in Pennsylvania.

For some time Calhoun and his lieutenants had counted with certainty upon the support of Pennsylvania. But when Jackson was urged for the presidency, it became apparent that the mass of Pennsylvania farmers favored him. On February 18, at a large Philadelphia meeting, George M. Dallas, who had been a Calhoun leader, led in an endorsement of Jackson in the interest of party unity and in obedience to the recognized will of the people.[46] On March 4, a state convention at Harrisburg was almost unanimous in recommending him for the presidency and Calhoun for the vice-presidency, "thus announcing to the world a compromise which had been quietly arranged between the supporters of the Tennesseean and South Carolinian."[47] The Jackson leaders in North Carolina were in touch with the situation in Pennsylvania and, well in advance of the Harrisburg Convention, were concerned about shifting the Calhoun support to Jackson.[48]

The friends of Calhoun in the State regretted his replacement but accepted it as unavoidable.[49] The *Western Carolinian*

[46] *The Star*, Mar. 5, 1824; Herman Hailperin, "Pro-Jackson Sentiment in Pennsylvania, 1820-1828," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, L (1926), 193-240.

[47] J. S. Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson*, I, 333.

[48] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, Feb. 7, 1824, *Murphey Papers*, I, 289-290; John Branch to William Polk, Washington, Feb. 22, 1824, Polk MSS.

[49] The Calhoun leaders did not reveal to the public the bitterness of their disappointment. B. B. Smith lost interest in the campaign, caring little "who shall be the successful candidate, provided it be not Crawford. . . . The news of this lamentable overthrow in Pennsylvania . . . threw his friends here . . . into the utmost confusion & consternation. Such was the feeling on this occasion, that a general outburst of indignation was manifested by ¾ of the citizens of this city, and, had it been possible to have laid hands on that *Judas Iscariot, George M. Dallas*, nothing short of his absolute crucifixion, could have appeased the wrath of the injuriated populace for his villainous desertion & political treachery . . . the news . . . shocked the feelings of his [Calhoun's] friends here beyond anything that I have ever seen." But for Dallas's action at the Philadelphia meeting, Smith believed that the Harrisburg Convention would have nominated Calhoun for the presidency and that Jackson would have withdrawn from the contest. "Jackson will certainly get the vote of No Ca . . . if we can't

restated its belief in the superior qualifications of Calhoun, but declared that principles are paramount in a republican government. "*Jackson* is now the only man who can beat the caucus ticket, in *North Carolina*." It pledged cooperation with the friends of Jackson and called on the Adams and Clay men to do likewise.[50] *The Star* "found that the current of popular sentiment was sweeping everything in its progress, and setting rapidly in favor of Jackson and Adams; and any attempt on our part to change its direction must have been fruitless." It endorsed the People's ticket, declared Jackson and Adams fully qualified, but refrained from expressing a preference for either individual.[51] It expressed admiration for Jackson, declared that it had "contended for *measures* more than for *men*," and found consolation in the belief that Calhoun would reach the presidency some day.[52]

When it became apparent that an opposition ticket would be offered to the voters, Crawford's friends among the North Carolina congressional delegation bestirred themselves. Their activity "*beggars all description* & unless an immediate & corresponding zeal on the part of Mr. Cns friends is evinced this state now *unquestionably* favorable to Mr. Cn *is lost to a certainty*."[53] After Jackson replaced Calhoun and captured some of his following, the Crawford press, at all times anxious for division among the enemies of Crawford, referred to the new Jackson supporters as "changelings" who would desert Jackson if they should find him unable to defeat Crawford. It was asserted that many of Calhoun's friends would not consent to be "bartered away." Coming so soon after the congressional caucus, Calhoun's withdrawal was said to be an immediate result.[54]

After the collapse of the Calhoun cause, the Jackson leader-

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get our *man* at all events we shall our *measures* . . . no greater calamity, could . . . befall the Country, than the triumph of *Radicalism*." B. B. Smith to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Apr. 17, 1824, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[50] *Western Carolinian*, Mar. 16, 1824.

[51] *The Star*, Apr. 2, 1824. [52] *Ibid.*, Mar. 5, 1824.

[53] W. R. Swift to J. G. Swift, New Bern, Jan. 26, 1824, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

[54] *Raleigh Register*, Mar. 2, 5, 1824.

ship in North Carolina was confronted with the problems of forming a Jackson electoral ticket and winning the support of those considerable portions of the voting population stubbornly loyal to Calhoun and Adams. The immediate problem was the electoral ticket, which should be placed before the people as soon as possible. There was strong sentiment in favor of dropping the name People's ticket, as "worn out, and not so well understood . . . we should call the Ticket by its true Name."[55]—the Jackson ticket; but, in consideration of the electors already chosen, the friends of Calhoun and Adams, and the popularity which it had acquired, the name People's ticket was retained. Obviously it was advisable if possible to have the electors, who had been chosen under Calhoun leadership, declare themselves for Jackson and remain on the ticket.[56] There would be no trouble about filling the six remaining places.

As early as February 7, Murphey had suggested the policy of public meetings in promotion of the Jackson cause. A Warren County meeting in February recommended William Drew as a Jackson elector. In March, two Jackson public meetings were held in Murphey's county, Orange. At Hawfields on March 6, Jackson was endorsed by a meeting of more than two hundred citizens.[57] Murphey arranged a public meeting at Hillsborough on March 18, which endorsed resolutions introduced by him setting forth the superior claims of Jackson for the presidency and appointing an electoral district committee to correspond and unite with persons in other districts in the selection of a Jackson ticket.[58] Until just before the meeting, he had been in favor of requesting Polk and a few others to act as a central committee and to form the ticket.[59] Polk brought about a meeting in Raleigh on April 2, which adopted resolutions similar to those recently endorsed

[55] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Mar. 21, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 293-296.

[56] Thos. G. Polk to William Polk, Willwood, Apr. 10, 1824, Polk-Yeatman Papers, 1777-1873.

[57] *The Star,* Mar. 26, 1824.

[58] *Western Carolinian,* Apr. 6, 1824, quoting *Hillsborough Recorder.*

[59] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Mar. 21, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 293-296.

at Hillsborough.[60] There was some opposition to Calhoun for the vice-presidency, but his acquiescence in the Pennsylvania nomination rendered this opposition powerless.[61]

Though it was good policy to pay homage to the right of the people to assist in the selection of the People's ticket, the ticket actually was completed by Polk, Murphey and a few others or by public meetings which they brought about. The six remaining places were filled by April 6.[62] The *Register* announced on April 20 that "the electoral ticket . . . which has been forming in the State ever since the adjournment of the Legislature is at length complete"; but no opposition paper published the entire ticket until May 11.[63]

None of the nine men originally on the People's ticket had been dropped, although it was not yet certain that all would be willing to shift from Calhoun to Jackson. Mebane, who was thought to be for Adams, pledged himself to vote for Jackson if the wishes of the people were in his favor,[64] although he would demand positive evidence of Jackson's superior popularity to Adams.[65] Giles was determined to vote for Jackson unless he stood no chance of election.[66] Blount, who was for Calhoun and hostile to both Jackson and Crawford, remained on the ticket, pledged to support that one of the three—Jackson, Adams or Clay, whose prospect of defeating Crawford should seem best, with the reservation that he would support

[60] *The Star,* Apr. 9, 1824.

[61] T. J. Green to William Polk, Warrenton, Feb. 2, 1824, Polk MSS.; A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Mar. 21, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 295-296. Green was in favor of Macon; and Murphey, of DeWitt Clinton for the vice-presidency.

[62] Montfort Stokes of Wilkes, J. M. Morehead of Guilford, and A. H. Shepperd of Stokes were announced in the *Western Carolinian* of March 23; William Drew of Halifax and W. B. Lockhart of Northampton, both avowed friends of Jackson, in *The Star* of March 26; and Robert Love of Haywood in the *Western Carolinian* of April 6.

[63] *Western Carolinian,* May 11, 1824. The delay was due perhaps to caution in face of the fact that it was not known whether the Calhoun electors already announced would consent to remain on the ticket.

[64] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Hillsborough, Mar. 21, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 294.

[65] J. W. Long, Jr., to Thomas Ruffin, Randolph County, Aug. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 312.

[66] *Ibid.*

Calhoun in case his cause was revived.[67] Martin agreed to vote for Jackson if his prospects seemed best.[68] William Blackledge, who was placed on the ticket as a friend of Calhoun and had serious objections to all the other candidates, refused his consent to any arrangement but agreed to withdraw and give place to a suitable person.[69] His withdrawal later was declared to be uninfluenced "by any motive of opposition to that ticket; but [he] is still pointedly opposed to the election of Mr. Crawford."[70] A public meeting at New Bern on September 23 selected Vine Allen of Craven for the place vacated by Blackledge.[71] No other change was made in the People's ticket. To avoid its disruption, the Jackson leaders had been compelled to retain persons who did not prefer Jackson and who refused to pledge him their unqualified support.

For the most part, the Calhoun following in the State shifted to Jackson after Calhoun was dropped in March, though in many cases the change was made with reluctance and only in recognition of the fact that Jackson alone had a prospect of defeating Crawford. In the East, however, Calhoun's withdrawal did not have the complete effect desired by the friends of Jackson. Jackson's reputed hostility to the interests of commerce, arising from his support of the tariff, and his unimpressive qualifications for the presidency were expected to weaken the People's ticket.[72] Many of Calhoun's "friends will go over to Mr. Crawford and many others profess to have no choice." It was hoped that "the unanimity of the Western Counties" would "balance the defection of the Eastern."[73] The *Carolina Sentinel* devoted little attention to the campaign after Calhoun's withdrawal. Seeming to favor Adams, it expressed a preference for the People's ticket on the grounds of friendliness to the Monroe administration,

[67] William A. Blount to William Polk, Oaklands, June 13, 1824, Polk MSS.

[68] William Martin to William Polk, Elizabeth City, July 13, 1824, Polk MSS.

[69] William H. Blackledge to William Polk, Mar. 25, 1824, Polk MSS.

[70] *The Star,* Sept. 24, 1824. [71] *Ibid.,* Oct. 1, 1824.

[72] John Stanly to William Polk, New Bern, Mar. 16, 1824, Polk MSS.

[73] Gen. Joseph H. Bryan to William Polk, Roanoke, Apr. 9, 1824, Polk MSS.

hostility to Virginia domination, and the democratic method by which the ticket had been formed.[74] Calhoun followers in the western county of Lincoln were reported to be shifting to Crawford.[75]

Jackson's capture of the People's ticket and most of Calhoun's friends changed the campaign of 1824 in reality into a contest between Jackson and Crawford. However, it was ostensibly a struggle between the Crawford ticket and the People's ticket, which, though containing a majority of Jackson electors, was not pledged publicly to any individual. Its friends, in the hope of uniting the supporters of Jackson and Adams, declared that it would give its vote, in case of success, to the one who was more popular in the nation and thus more likely to defeat Crawford.[76]

[74] *Carolina Sentinel,* Sept. 18, Nov. 6, 1824.

[75] P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Orange, Apr. 15, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[76] *Carolina Observer,* Apr. 8, 1824.

CHAPTER V

THE CRAWFORD CAMPAIGN

The difficulty encountered in scheduling the congressional caucus, the disappointing attendance, and the physical condition of their candidate impaired the confidence of some of the Crawford supporters. On the eve of the caucus, Hutchins G. Burton requested William Plumer, Jr., "to ascertain, from Mr. Adams, whether it would be acceptable to him to have Mr. Crawford for Vice President. . . . I informed Mr. Adams of this—& afterwards advised Burton to see him. He accordingly went to Mr. Adams—& after seeing him called upon Mr. Crawford, who, on being asked the question said that, if his friends thought it advisable, he was willing to become Vice President under Mr. Adams."[1] Crawford's physical condition caused keen anxiety among some of his friends.[2]

However, Crawford entered the campaign of 1824 with all the prestige of the regular Republican nominee. He had been recommended by the same system which had given Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe to the country and unbroken victory for a quarter century to the Republican party. The caucus attendance was not so large as was desired; but, with five candidates in the field, Crawford's sixty-four votes showed that he was "decidedly the most popular candidate." In Congress he had more friends perhaps than Monroe had when nominated.[3] Neither North Carolina nor the country had ever refused to accept the nominee of the Republican caucus. The Crawford electoral ticket in North Carolina was formed by the regular method of a caucus in the General Assembly preceding the election. It was "composed of nearly the same in-

[1] E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.,* 100-101.
[2] Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 265, 355-356.
[3] *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 2, 1824.

dividuals who formed the Electoral College that voted for Mr. Madison in 1812, and for Mr. Monroe in 1816 and 1820,"[4] and "ought not the recommendation of a State Legislature, to have the same effect on the citizens of that State, as a nomination by Congress is supposed to have on the country at large?"[5] The supporters of Crawford were designated as "old Republicans of the Jeffersonian school"—the only genuine Republicans of the pure original variety; and Jefferson himself, Madison, and other Republicans of prestige, who favored Crawford, gave point to the claim.[6] Thirteen of the fifteen members of Congress from North Carolina and a majority of the General Assembly were claimed by the Crawfordites. "Thus supported, the Crawford Ticket must prevail in this State."[7]

The campaign was declared to be a contest of parties, and every appeal was made to the innate conservatism and party loyalty of North Carolinians to preserve the safe and regular system of nominations as well as the unity of the party. "We call upon the republicans of the country to rally around the venerated banner of the party—to discard all sectional or personal attachments—to sacrifice individual wishes at the shrine of their country's prosperity, and perseveringly support the men who have been designated as the national candidates."[8]

Crawford was portrayed as "plain, unassuming and affable" in manners; "open, candid, and free from dissimulation" in sentiments; "original and capacious" in mind—a man who by the "strength of his genius," unaided by distinguished ancestry or influential friends, had risen to greatness. His election by the common people from whom he sprang would prove to the world that in practice as in theory "with us, all men

[4] *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1824, quoting *Milton Gazette*. As a matter of fact, the electoral ticket did not contain a single name that was on the 1812 ticket, and but four that were on the ticket in 1816, and six in 1820. Two of the candidates on the People's ticket had been Republican electors in 1812, 1816, and 1820. *Journal of the House of Commons,* Nov. 21, 1812; Legislative Papers, 1816, 1820.

[5] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 20, 1824.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nov. 2, 1824; Gaillard Hunt, ed., *Forty Years of Washington Society,* 163.

[7] *Raleigh Register,* Nov. 2, 1824.

[8] *Ibid.*, Feb. 24, 1824.

are created equal, and that in a government constituted like ours . . . merit alone is the passport to promotion."[9] His distinguished public career in Congress, the diplomatic service, and the cabinet, as well as the gracious manner of his refusal to compete with Monroe in 1816 for the nomination to which many thought he was entitled, made him worthy and deserving of the presidency. It had been generally acknowledged by party leaders after 1816 that Crawford would be Monroe's successor.[10]

Strong appeals to the fundamental economic, social, and sectional interests of North Carolina were made in behalf of Crawford, particularly as election day approached and the opposition appeared surprisingly strong. T. H. Hall of Edgecombe, a member of Congress, in a letter to his constituents, declared that the campaign was a combat between West, East, and South for the presidency; and "the question is, shall we take the man who is bound to us by birth, habits, identity of interest and political sentiment" or one who from force of circumstances must be against the South.[11] Those who wished "security against 'restrictions' on the states, whether as regards slavery or any thing else"[12] were urged to vote for Crawford, the southern candidate. He alone of all the candidates, wrote John Long from Washington to the grand jurors of Rowan Superior Court, was opposed to federal internal improvements and tariff, policies which were inexpedient, unjust, and burdensome to North Carolina. His views are "consistent with our interests."[13] Lewis Williams, in an address

[9] *Ibid.*, June 8, 1824, quoting Lewis Williams' letter to his constituents. Williams' letter was also issued and distributed as a circular, *To the Citizens of the Thirteenth Congressional District of North Carolina,* Washington, Apr. 17, 1824.

[10] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 6, 1824, quoting *National Intelligencer.* Shipp states that Crawford lost the nomination in 1816 on account of his magnanimity and the influence of the administration, and that a little exertion on his part would have secured it easily. Shipp, *Life of Crawford,* 141-144; P. J. Green, The Public Life of William Harris Crawford, 1807-1825, 181-187.

[11] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 10, 1824.

[12] *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1824, quoting from an address to the people of South Carolina issued in pamphlet form.

[13] *The Star,* Apr. 30, 1824, quoting *Western Carolinian.*

to his constituents, expressed confidence that under Crawford's administration "the nation would be happy; that we should have peace, economy, and prosperity; that we should avoid extravagance, debts, and taxes."[14] Crawford would check the unprecedented extravagance of the federal government, discharge the national debt, cherish the farming interest, and combat the tariff policy which takes "money out of the Planters pockets and put[s] it into the pockets of the manufacturers."[15] He would consider the happiness of the citizen to consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of domestic labor rather than in heavy taxes for a big fleet and army and for forts to awe Indians into submission to invading hunters.[16] A cheap, plain, and unostentatious administration, strict regard for state sovereignty, rigid economy and accountability, loyalty to a strict construction of the constitution—these were set forth as Crawford principles in harmony with the interests of North Carolina.[17]

Crawford was also represented as the peace candidate. Monroe's administration seemed to be confronted with a national menace in the projected occupation of a portion of the New World by the so-called "Holy Alliance" of European nations. The President's message of December 2, 1823, embodying what has since become known as the Monroe Doctrine, stated the position of the United States in reference to this menace. The possibility of foreign involvement was realized. In 1823, while Secretary of War Calhoun, who had been aggressive on the eve of the War of 1812 in contrast with the caution of Crawford, was the leading opposition candidate, Crawford was praised as one who "will never involve his country in war unless in absolute *defense,* to swallow up the hard earnings of honest labor."[18] A year later, after the impetuous Jackson had replaced Calhoun, it was alleged that the

[14] *Raleigh Register,* June 8, 1824. [15] *Ibid.,* Oct. 19, 1824.

[16] *The Star,* Oct. 24, 1824, communication signed "A Subscriber."

[17] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* IV (1927), 455; W. P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington City, Feb. 11, 1824, Mangum MSS.; Romulus M. Saunders, *To the Freemen of Stokes, Guilford, Rockingham, and Caswell,* 3; John Long, Jr., *Circular. To the Citizens of the 10th Congressional District . . . ,* 3.

[18] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 22, 1823.

result of the approaching election "may involve the peace and happiness of the Western World and the fate of millions. The policy of America is *peace.*" The voters were asked to select a president who would endeavor to avoid the horrors of war and would fight only for defence and after negotiation. "Let them vote for William H. Crawford, and 'Peace will reign throughout our borders.' "[19]

Peace, economy, prosperity, happiness, state rights, strict construction, simplicity, genuine republicanism, hostility to tariff and internal improvements—these were the issues held out in the interest of Crawford to unprosperous, individualistic, agricultural North Carolina, especially to the slaveholding, plantation section which was beginning to scent from afar a possible menace to its economic and social system from the nationalistic program of the young Republicans now all but triumphant in the federal government.

There were two admitted handicaps to the Crawford ticket in North Carolina: Albert Gallatin and the physical condition of Crawford. Gallatin had been chosen by the congressional caucus for the vice-presidency as a bait whereby Pennsylvania might be landed in the Crawford creel. At once and to an increasing extent, when it became apparent that Pennsylvania was for Jackson, there was dissatisfaction with Gallatin's candidacy. Crawford leaders in North Carolina reported that he was a "dreadful drawback" and danger to the Crawford cause in certain districts, if not in the entire State.[20] John Long refused to urge his election and thought "we must have our Electors in N Ca at liberty to vote for who they please as Vice President."[21] There was some effort to defend Gallatin's nomination on the grounds of his distinguished public

[19] *Ibid.*, Sept. 24, 1824.

[20] R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Mar. 9, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 295-296; John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladen County, Aug. 20, 1824, *ibid.,* I, 314; William Ruffin to Bartlett Yancy, Raleigh, Sept. 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28. Gallatin himself reported that the embarrassment respecting his candidacy was chiefly "in relation to Virginia and North Carolina." Albert Gallatin to Walter Lowrie, Oct. 2, 1824, Henry Adams, *The Life of Albert Gallatin,* 604.

[21] John Long to Thomas Ruffin, Washington City, Mar. 14, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 297.

career and the presumed liberality of the State, some of whose governors and high public officials had been foreign-born.[22] His withdrawal in October, in the interest of the Crawford cause, was welcomed in North Carolina.[23] No one was nominated to replace Gallatin, although steps were taken to have the Crawford ticket in North Carolina, if successful, support Van Buren for the vice-presidency.[24]

To offset as far as possible the demoralizing effect of Crawford's illness, its seriousness was minimized; and reports of his rapid improvement and almost complete restoration to accustomed health were kept before the public.[25] The leaders of the opposition, well informed of his real condition, refrained from exploiting it unduly for campaign purposes.[26]

The anti-Crawford campaign was waged with extreme aggressiveness by the friends of the other candidates, for they

[22] Romulus M. Saunders, *To the Freemen of Stokes, Guilford, Rockingham and Caswell,* 3.

[23] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 22, 1824; James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* III, 31.

[24] Jo. Gales, Jr., to Martin Van Buren, Washington, Oct. 26, 1824, Van Buren Papers.

[25] *Raleigh Register,* June 15, July 30, Aug. 17, Sept. 7, Oct. 22, 29, Nov. 2, 1824; John H. Bryan Papers, I, 108. In March, Burton regarded Crawford's death as likely and the withdrawal of his candidacy as desirable. In May, he told Adams that Crawford's friends considered his health so desperate that they would have to agree upon another candidate. Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 265, 355-356. In November, Yancy received a copy of a physician's report on Crawford's condition and the assurance that he was at his office daily, that complete recovery was in early prospect, and that "in regard to his health you and all our friends may be perfectly at ease." A. Dickins to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Nov. 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28. Though still far from well, Crawford improved greatly in the fall of 1824. On November 10, for the first time in several months, he attended a meeting of the cabinet. Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 428; Gaillard Hunt, ed., *Forty Years of Washington Society,* 164-172.

[26] "The truth is he has lately had a *paralytic stroke* which has, partially, *deprived him of speech*—and *measurably affected his intellect.* He will, probably, not live the year out; and is rather an object of *compassion* than political hostility! . . . These facts are studiously Concealed here: and, if you make any use of them let it be, for the present, Confined to our friends.

"A proposition to withdraw his name, *on acct. of bodily infirmities,* would, I understand, have been made to Mr. C—d, by his friends, before this—but *for the peculiar and unfortunate situation of his mind!!*" A. S. H. Burges to William Polk, Washington, May 29, 1824, Polk MSS

had an identical interest in weakening Crawford. Their hope of success lay in a coalition attack upon him. Every conceivable argument, issue, and prejudice was invoked by the opposition, whose campaign was conducted primarily against Crawford rather than for any of the other candidates.

With the view of undermining the prestige of Crawford as the regular Republican candidate, the objections to the caucus system presented in the legislative debate on the Fisher resolutions in 1823 were kept continually before the people by newspapers, broadsides, public meetings, and stump speakers. They drew vivid pictures of the contest as a democratic crusade to secure popular control of the government from the aristocratic minority composed of intriguing politicians and would-be dictators.

> Freemen of North Carolina! Are you willing to sanction so flagrant a usurpation of your rights and privileges, as this aristocratic *minority* in your Legislature is attempting to palm upon you? Shall we tamely yield our elective franchise, and become the willing slaves, the miserable panders of a minority of only *eighty* members of our Assembly? . . . No: the slumbering spirits of our Revolutionary fathers, from the blessed realms of eternity, will rebuke us if we do.[27]

The Crawford leaders could not believe that the "usual and customary" means of nomination could "have suddenly become illegitimate and hateful."[28] They alleged that the outcry of the opposition was against "the result . . . and not the

[27] *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 6, 1824. A poem of ten verses taken from the *Washington Republican* appeared in *The Star* of February 13. The first verse ran:

> What is the sovereign'st thing on earth
> To crush republics in their birth,
> To raise up vice and put down worth?
> A Caucus!

A contributor to the *Western Carolinian* of February 10 wrote: "It is said that, on the night the *Caucus* was held at Raleigh, tears were seen to flow down the cheeks of the statue of *Washington!* The father of his country had fought to give the people liberty . . . the CAUCUS was conspiring to take away that liberty. The marble wept at the conduct of degenerate Americans."

[28] *Raleigh Register,* June 29, 1824, quoting John Long's address to his constituents. Long's address was issued as *Circular. To the Citizens of the 10th Congressional District in North Carolina. . . .*

principle" of the caucus.[29] Yet the opposition campaign was effective in stirring up popular resentment against the caucus.[30] "A revolution on this subject has begun, and revolutions do not go backward."[31] The Crawford forces urged that the real objection of the opposition was to Crawford and lamented the picture of "a good man, struggling against the malice and machinations of combined enemies";[32] but nothing weakened the zeal of the opposition or the effectiveness of the anti-caucus appeal to the masses.

That the present campaign was a party contest, as declared by the Crawford leaders, was denied effectively by the opposition. While there still were Federalists or men holding Federalist principles in North Carolina, no organization of that party had been before the public for years. On the other hand, there was some effort to fasten the stigma of Federalism on the Crawford cause. It was pointed out that Pickering of Massachusetts[33] and many decided Federalists in North Carolina[34] were supporting Crawford; and several of the Crawford electors were declared to be Federalists.[35] Crawford's support

[29] Romulus M. Saunders, *To the Freemen of Stokes, Guilford, Rockingham, and Caswell,* 2.

[30] J. F. Brevard to W. P. Mangum, Lincoln County, Mar. 10, 1824, Mangum MSS.; J. A. Craig to W. P. Mangum, Haw River, Apr. 4, 1824, *ibid.*

[31] *The Star,* July 2, 1824, quoting *Carolina Observer.*

[32] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 6, 1824, quoting *Cape Fear Recorder.* Henry Seawell believed that the combination of Crawford's enemies would react in his favor. "'The Holy Alliance' I think, have over shot the mark. The people are obliged to see, that it is not *their* right for which so much sensibility is felt; it is a consciousness, that it requires a reunion of all the other Candidates, to out vote Crawford. Their object is to *prevent* the people from electing the president, in order that it may come to the house of Representatives." Henry Seawell to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Feb. 12, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 293.

[33] *Catawba Journal,* Oct. 19, 1824.

[34] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 222.

[35] The *Western Carolinian* of January 13 declared that three or four had been placed on the Crawford ticket as a bid for the Federalist vote in the State. The *Carolina Sentinel* asserted that Covington and Legrand had been and probably were Federalists. *The Star,* Jan. 23, 1824. John Owen, a Crawford leader in Bladen County, wrote that the Crawford cause was prostrate in the districts of Covington and Legrand on account of the unpopularity of Covington and the popular suspicion of Legrand's

of John Adams in his resistance to France in 1798,[36] his vote with the Federalists in opposition to Jefferson's embargo policy in 1807 and 1809,[37] his ridicule of Madison on the eve of the War of 1812,[38] and his support of the bill to recharter the Bank of the United States and the doctrine of implied powers,[39] were used to brand him as "an *inconsistent politician*—an *unstable republican*," who for several years as an unfaithful member of the cabinet had been the head of a

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Republicanism. He thought Crawford missionaries should be sent into the southern and western parts of the State and Covington replaced on the ticket by a more popular man. John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladen County, Aug. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 314. Owen was encountering difficulties in his own district. "In Sampson County, we shall do worse than in any county in my electoral district. The Gov. (Holmes) and a numerous family connection are against us, and what is still worse, the Honble. William R. King, *of famous memory,* and his brother Genl. Thomas D. King, who formerly resided there, have spent the summer in that county, and have vast influence. *I dread the issue.*" John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladenboro, Sept. 28, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 315.

[36] The "Augusta Address," to which frequent reference was made in the campaign of 1824 by the enemies of Crawford, was drawn up by a committee of a young men's convention at Augusta, Ga., adopted by the convention on July 2, 1798, and sent to President Adams. It was a patriotic endorsement of Adams' measures to preserve the national honor in the conflict with France and expressed "the most unlimited confidence in the firmness, justice, and wisdom of your administration." Crawford, then only 26 years of age, was chairman of the committee and his name headed the list of signers of the address. On February 16, 1823, Crawford wrote to Charles Tait that, as a member of the committee, he had sought to keep out of the address any expression of approbation of Adams' administration, that he believed the portion expressing "unlimited confidence" in Adams was spurious, and that he had always been a Republican. Moreover, he defended himself from the charge of Federalism by stating that the most objectionable acts of Adams' administration were not passed until after the date of the address. Shipp, *Life of Crawford,* 31-32, 170-171, 217-218, 236-237. The famous Alien and Sedition Acts were passed by Congress on June 18, 25, July 6, 14, 1798. The Sedition Act was passed on July 14, nearly two weeks after the date of the Augusta address. *Statutes at Large of the United States of America,* I, 566-572, 577-578, 596-597.

[37] *Annals of Congress,* 10 Cong., 1 sess., 51; *ibid.,* 10 Cong., 2 sess., 436; Shipp, *Life of Crawford,* 78.

[38] *Annals of Congress,* 11 Cong., 2 sess., 541-547. Crawford said of Madison's message: "This Message, in point of obscurity, comes nearer my ideas of a Delphic oracle than any State paper which has come under my inspection."

[39] *Ibid.,* 11 Cong., 3 sess., 132-150; Shipp, *op. cit.,* 83-97.

party which had acted with "marked hostility to the present wise, well-regulated, efficient Republican administration."[40] The Crawford supporters were forced late in the campaign to defend the early record of their candidate as a genuine Republican.[41] Moreover, Crawford, admittedly popular with the officeholding politicians, was declared to be unpopular with the people.[42] The opposition was successful to a considerable degree in weakening the Crawford claim of party regularity and orthodoxy. One Jacksonian wrote: "They tell us he is the Genuine Republican & we must all Centre on him; This kind of Stuff I Consider Bate Mearly set out to Catch fools."[43]

Crawford's entire public career was subjected to attack. His service in Congress was pronounced undistinguished by measure or speech; and his diplomatic career, mediocre. His friends were charged with intriguing against Monroe in 1816 instead of giving way to him, as claimed.[44] However, it was his administration of the Treasury Department that drew the heaviest fire. It was unfortunate politically for a presidential aspirant to have been in charge of the Treasury Department during the panic of 1819 when the government itself was sorely embarrassed and thousands of individuals were facing

[40] Jackson broadside "To the Freemen of North Carolina," distributed with *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824. It had fifteen signatures: Thomas Love, Thos. G. Polk, Charles Fisher, William P. Dobson, A. D. Murphey, Jos. W. Hawkins, John Vann, Kedar Ballard, L. D. Wilson, James C. Coles, Christo. Dudley, Benj. Robinson, Jos. Scurlock, Wm. H. Haywood, Tho's Searcy. Four columns were devoted to the objections to Crawford and one column to the qualifications of Jackson. The anonymous pamphlet, *An Address to the Citizens of North-Carolina, on the Subject of the Presidential Election,* written perhaps by J. G. Swift of New York or George McDuffie and distributed in the fall of 1823 in support of Calhoun's candidacy, sought to present Crawford's career in such a way as to taint him with Federalism.

[41] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 1, 1824.

[42] *The Star,* July 9, 1824. In 1821 Crawford wrote to Charles Tait that he would not seek the presidency in 1824 and that he would avoid the contamination of faction and intrigue. Shipp, *Life of Crawford,* 149.

[43] William P. Dobson to William Polk, Rockford, Surry County, Feb. 22, 1824, Polk MSS.

[44] *The Star,* Sept. 26, 1823, communication signed "Marcus"; *An Address to the Citizens of North-Carolina, on the Subject of the Presidential Election.*

financial ruin. This general condition together with some consideration of presidential politics, perhaps, prompted Congress to scrutinize with unusual closeness the administration of the departments of government—particularly the Treasury and War departments. Both Calhoun and Crawford were pestered with actual or threatened investigations and with calls from Congress for reports.

In 1822, a select committee of the House exonerated Crawford from the charge of violating federal law and the constitution by employing a member of Congress to examine certain land offices;[45] but the report did not convince everyone that Crawford was not administering his office to strengthen his political position. Senator Eaton of Tennessee, in an effort to embarrass Crawford, secured the adoption of a resolution in January, 1823, requesting a report from the Secretary of the Treasury of the loans made from the treasury to individuals or banks.[46] In 1823 the House ordered an investigation to ascertain who was responsible for "suppressing certain passages of documents transmitted to the House" by Crawford with his report of February 14, 1822, concerning his transactions with the banks in which money received from the sale of public lands had been deposited. A select committee reported on February 27 that "there does not exist the semblance of a reason for charging upon the Secretary of the Treasury any agency" in the suppression;[47] but the committee's report did not discover the suppressor or restore the public money lost by the banks or prevent reference in the campaign by enemies of Crawford to "the mysterious affair of the suppressed documents from his department."[48]

On the eve of the meeting of the North Carolina General Assembly in 1823 an attack was made on Crawford by the publication of a letter and enclosures received by "a responsible gentleman" in Raleigh from John Clark of Georgia, a bitter political enemy of Crawford. The charge was made that

[45] *Annals of Congress,* 17 Cong., 1 sess., 1407-1413.
[46] *Annals of Congress,* 17 Cong., 2 sess., 159-160, 301-307.
[47] *Ibid.,* 17 Cong., 2 sess., 1126-1127.
[48] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 220.

Crawford had withheld a letter from the House of Representatives relative to the smuggling of slaves, in violation of a House resolution of December 31, 1819, calling on him to submit copies of all communications on that subject received since 1816.[49] General D. B. Mitchell, agent to the Creek Indians, was dismissed on account of evidence furnished by Clark which established his connection with the smuggling.[50]

The climax of the criticism of Crawford's administration came in April, 1824, when Ninian Edwards, former Senator from Illinois, author of the series of "A. B." letters in 1823 attacking Crawford, and a Calhoun partisan, presented to the speaker of the House an address charging the Secretary of the Treasury with mismanaging public funds, receiving uncurrent notes from banks contrary to a resolution of Congress, misstating the amount of such notes received, misrepresenting the obligations of the banks, violating the law in his failure to report to Congress deposits made in local banks, and withholding information and letters called for by the House.[51] A select committee of investigation reported on May 25 that the evidence did not support the charge of mismanagement of public funds, that the Secretary in receiving uncurrent notes acted according to what he supposed to be the rights of the parties, that the misstatement of the amount of such notes received was unintentional, that the Secretary may have misconstrued but did not misrepresent the obligations of the banks, that he did omit to communicate the reasons which led him to deposit public money in three banks but there was no reason to suppose concealment was intended, and that the withholding of papers called for by the House had been accidental.[52] Further investigation by the committee did not change the report. "Nothing has been proved to impeach the integrity of

[49] *The Star,* Nov. 14, 1823. In 1819, Clark had attacked Crawford in a publication, *Consideration on the Purity of the Principles of W. H. Crawford, Esq.* A second edition was issued in 1823. Shipp, *op. cit.,* 66-76, 161.

[50] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Dec. 2, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 483.

[51] *Annals of Congress,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., 2431-2450; Shipp, *op. cit.,* 164-167.

[52] *Annals of Congress,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., 2713-2725.

the Secretary, or to bring into doubt the general correctness and ability of his administration of the public finances."[53] The Crawford partisans proclaimed his triumph, but others regarded the committee report as a whitewash. "The simple opinion here, on all hands, is, that none of Edwards' charges are disproved—but the committee & Congress are willing to acquit Mr. Crd of *evil intention:* ascribing his faults, charitably, to want of ability, or defect of Judgement."[54] *The Star* denied the statement of the *Register* that Crawford had been exonerated from the charges. "It appears evident to us, that the principal facts stated by Mr. Edwards are admitted by the Committee to be true, although there was no evidence to justify them in imputing to Mr. Crawford improper motives."[55]

Though Crawford's character and integrity were upheld by every investigating committee, his opponents continued to voice their suspicions. "As Caesar repudiated his wife, without proof of her guilt, because the chastity of Caesar's wife should not even be suspected," declared John Stanly in the legislature of 1823, expressing perhaps the sentiment of many throughout the State, "so the American People ought to say, 'The integrity of a President of the United States, ought to be above suspicion.' "[56] Public money deposited in banks by the Secretary had been lost, estimates of revenue had been far from accurate, and there were certain irregularities in the administration of the Treasury Department. Throughout the campaign the charge was reiterated that Crawford's conduct of the Treasury Department was "unwise, injudicious, and wasteful."[57] Furthermore, Crawford's opponents, while attempting to prove that normally he was incompetent as an administrator, declared that he had been unable to attend to business for a year, and that, if elected, *"would prove physically disqualified for the office."*[58]

[53] *Ibid.*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., 2770-2772.
[54] A. S. H. Burges to William Polk, Washington, May 29, 1824, Polk MSS.
[55] *The Star,* June 4, 1824.
[56] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 220-221.
[57] *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824, Jackson broadside.
[58] *Ibid.*

There was much criticism in the campaign of that element of the Republican party which, particularly after the panic of 1819, had come to champion economy, strict construction, and state rights in opposition to the nationalistic program of the Republican administrations after the War of 1812. Calhoun wrote that a party in opposition to the Republican majority was in process of formation which "calculates on success from the belief that it can persuade the people, that its leaders are their real friends in opposing, that system of policy, which grew out of the experience of the late war."[59] This group came to be designated as the Radical party—"a party which, with the popular word *Economy* emblazoned on its front, is endeavoring to worm itself into favor with the people. . . . This *radical* party is at war with all the great national institutions of the country."[60] Its platform was declared to be parsimony and drastic reduction of the army, navy, fortifications, and West Point.[61] Crawford was said to be the head of this party, composed of the fag ends and disaffected of both old parties.[62] The *Catawba Journal*, an Adams paper, admitted that it had no criticism of Crawford personally, but "the party to which he had attached himself . . . will compel him to adopt a course of policy inimical . . . to the general welfare of the country."[63] Montfort Stokes, a member of the People's ticket, was reported as saying that "next to Calhoun, Crawford was & is the choice of his understanding—but *h'll be G-d d-d if he would go to Heaven with some of Crawford's friends;* therefore he cannot & will not support him. With such men as Cooke, L. Williams & Dick Speight, he says that he can't travel."[64]

Objection was made to the duplicity with which Crawford had concealed from the public his policy and views on the

[59] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, June 11, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VII (1930), 480.

[60] *Western Carolinian*, Nov. 5, 1822.

[61] *The Star*, Aug. 22, 1823; *Western Carolinian*, May 7, 1822.

[62] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, V (1928), 320.

[63] *Catawba Journal*, Nov. 2, 1824.

[64] P. H. Mangum to W. P. Mangum, Orange, Apr. 15, 1824, Mangum MSS.

issues of tariff and internal improvements. His friends pressed his claim for votes in North Carolina, particularly upon the ground of his opposition to the tariff; yet his official reports were said to favor the tariff policy.[65] They indicated a preference for a revenue tariff but were sufficiently ambiguous to leave in doubt his views on the subject.[66] He evaded the issue of internal improvements by favoring a constitutional amendment.[67] However, the Crawford leaders in North Carolina were plainly hostile both to tariff and to internal improvements.

State pride and local prejudice against outside influence were commandeered for service in the anti-Crawford campaign. The War of 1812 and the progressive program of internal improvements and education, so ably advocated by Murphey, had begun to awaken public spirit and state pride, which chafed at the inferior role of North Carolina in national politics and at its economic and political subservience to Virginia. Since 1801, North Carolina had been uniformly loyal to the ruling Republican party. Its electoral vote was exceeded only by those of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; yet it had participated only slightly in the distribution of patronage. This neglect, though charged by some to the inferior quality of the State's congressmen,[68] was generally attributed to its unfaltering allegiance and subservience to Virginia. Murphey's program had been promoted partly with the view of achieving economic and political independence from Virginia. Resentment against Virginia was sharpened by a movement among the citizens of Petersburg in December, 1822, directed against North Carolina, to prohibit the circulation in Virginia of the notes of any bank which did not pay its notes regularly on demand in specie.[69] Meetings were held at Raleigh and Fayetteville, and a movement was launched to have North Carolina merchants trade at Fayetteville and Wil-

[65] *The Star,* Oct. 17, 1823, Oct. 22, 1824, and Nov. 5, 1824, Jackson broadside.

[66] Unconvincing efforts were made to prove that Crawford favored the tariff. *The Star,* June 11, Oct. 22, 1824.

[67] F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* 255-256.

[68] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 11, 1823, communication signed "Carolina."

[69] *The Star,* Jan. 31, 1823.

mington instead of Petersburg.[70] Virginia, Crawford's native state, was known as one of his chief strongholds. In the opinion of the anti-Crawford leaders, it behooved all patriotic North Carolinians, who resented economic and political subservience to Virginia and the humble position of the State, to vote against the "Virginia candidate" as a means of asserting state independence and pride.

As early as February, 1823, Virginia papers, confident that as usual North Carolina would support the same candidate as Virginia, placed the State in the Crawford column.[71] Politics and patriotism united in protest.

> People of North Carolina! the approaching Presidential Election is an important epoch in your political history. Will you continue to drag along in the trail of Virginia, or will you rather arouse yourselves, think for yourselves, and act for yourselves? Where is that state pride that should swell the bosom of every true son of Carolina?[72]
>
> It is necessary that North-Carolina should have a character of her own and assume that station in the Union, which her numbers, the intelligence, industry and enterprise of her citizens entitle her to. . . . Already has Virginia, as a matter of course, on the subject of the coming election, tacked us to her skirts to follow whither she leads. . . . This state of things must be changed; North Carolina must make herself heard, and assert her dignity. . . . Let her take this course, and she will no longer have to complain of neglect. It is the same with states as with individuals,—those only who cease to respect themselves, will lose the respect of others.[73]

The stigma of "Virginia candidate" lost Crawford many votes. Charles Fisher, speaking in the legislature of 1823, asserted that North Carolina had the reputation of being led by Virginia; and, of two candidates of equal ability, he would vote against the Virginia candidate.[74] Thomas Ruffin said Murphey declared to him "that he would rather have a weak

[70] *The Star,* Feb. 14, Apr. 11, May 23, June 27, Sept. 5, 1823; *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 28, 1824, quoting *Carolina Observer.*

[71] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 18, 1823.

[72] *Ibid.,* June 17, 1823, communication signed "A North Carolina Republican."

[73] *Carolina Observer,* June 26, 1823.

[74] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 322.

President than that North Carolina and Virginia should vote together."[75] It was pointed out as proof of Virginia influence that the *Milton Gazette*, one of the Crawford organs, was "*geographically* and *politically* a *semi*-Virginia paper,"[76] and that the chief center of Crawford popularity in North Carolina was the tier of tobacco counties along the Virginia border in the Middle East which traded with Virginia towns.[77] Calhoun himself called attention to the damaging effect of a general impression that the State was "the mere appendage of the Ancient Dominion."[78]

Prejudice against the European-born "foreign candidate" Gallatin was exploited before his withdrawal.[79] In view of Crawford's desperate illness, would not a vote for him be in reality a vote for a European for the presidency? And attention was directed to the kinship of the editors of the *Raleigh Register* and the *National Intelligencer* at Washington, which gave tone to the Crawford press of the country.[80]

The early confidence of the Crawford forces in an easy victory was modified somewhat by the vigorous attacks of the opposition, particularly after the Calhoun strength joined the sweeping Jackson movement in March. The Crawford campaign was directed by the correspondence committee selected by the legislative caucus and by members of the congressional delegation in Washington. Bartlett Yancy of Caswell, who had been a member of the House of Representatives, 1813-1817, and a member and speaker of the state Senate at every session since 1817, was the most prominent member of the committee of correspondence and the chief Crawford agent in the North Carolina campaign. He was in con-

[75] Thomas Ruffin to Bartlett Yancy, Hillsborough, Dec. 3, 1824, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 321. Ruffin reminded Murphey that Virginia in supporting Crawford was really following North Carolina, "we being as we were eight years ago and she having changed."

[76] *Western Carolinian*, Feb. 10, 1824.

[77] *The Star*, Sept. 5, 1823, quoting *Western Carolinian*.

[78] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Mar. 18, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VII (1930), 478.

[79] *The Star*, Oct. 8, 18, 29, 1824.

[80] *The Star*, Oct. 3, 1823, quoting *Washington Republican;* manuscript circular of W. A. Blount to his electoral district, John Gray Blount Papers, 1777-1873.

stant correspondence with Nathaniel Macon, Lewis Williams, and Romulus M. Saunders,[81] who were the most active Crawford members of the State's delegation in Congress. He received pamphlets in the interest of Crawford and had them published in the *Register*.[82] He sought to stimulate the Crawford electors to activity in their respective districts.[83] His advice was sought by William Ruffin, the corresponding secretary of the committee of correspondence; and apparently he wrote the Crawford address to the freemen of North Carolina, signed by the members of the committee and published in the *Raleigh Register* of October 19, 1824.[84] The *Register* played an active and influential role in the Crawford campaign.[85]

John Long thought it advisable that the people in the counties meet during court week and recommend Crawford;[86] but the leaders in the State, better informed, did not care to copy the favorite strategy of the Jacksonians, in which they could not hope to excel. Sentiment was tested in a Guilford County meeting in March, declared to be representative because not held with any view to the presidential question; and Crawford led, with Adams a respectable second.[87] Crawford

[81] *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2; *Sprunt Monographs,* no. 2; "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 427-462.

[82] Lewis Williams sent Yancy a pamphlet series of attacks on Calhoun by "Cassius" under the title of "Economy-Mr. Calhoun," which appeared in the *Register,* Jan. 9, 16, 20, 27, 1824. Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 15, 20, 1823, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 38-39, 41. The author was probably Senator Mahlon Dickerson of New Jersey. R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 7, 1823, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 439.

[83] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Surry County, July 25, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 44; Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *ibid.,* X, no. 2, 45.

[84] William Ruffin to Bartlett Yancy, Raleigh, Sept. 1, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 47.

[85] "The extensive Circulation of the Register has a most injurious effect upon Genl. Jackson's Interest. The continuing Assertion that Mr. Crawford will be elected has an effect upon the Minds of Common Men that is astonishing." A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, May 3, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 297.

[86] John Long, Jr., to Thomas Ruffin, Washington City, Mar. 14, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 297.

[87] *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 23, 1824.

led, with Jackson second, at a small meeting in Orange County in April,[88] and at one in Nash County in May.[89] On May 4, in pursuance of a notice given by the sheriff, a public meeting was held in the Randolph County court house. Speeches were made and a vote was taken in which Crawford received 122 votes, Jackson 45, Adams 3, and Clay 1. The meeting pledged its support to the Crawford ticket.[90] A Granville County militia muster in August endorsed his candidacy.[91] Apparently no other Crawford public meetings were held.

It was expected that circulars addressed by the Crawford members of Congress to their constituents after the adjournment of Congress would suffice to check the Jackson movement and hold the State to Crawford.[92] In the spring, John Long, Lewis Williams, Thomas Hall, Romulus M. Saunders, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and perhaps others addressed circulars to grand juries, newspapers, and citizens of their districts, summarizing the work of the session of Congress. The addresses concerned themselves also with the reasons why Crawford should be chosen president. The Chatham and Randolph grand juries replied favorably; but that of Rowan took sharp issue with Long's address, condemning the caucus and declaring either Jackson or Adams better qualified than Crawford.[93] Ridicule of these addresses was surprising beyond measure to the Crawford group. "This is something new in the annals of politics," declared the *Register*. "Heretofore the Circulars of our Members of Congress . . . were read with pleasure and treated with attention and respect."[94]

Surely the return of the congressmen themselves would insure the success of Crawford.[95] Williams, Saunders, and perhaps others addressed militia musters and meetings after their return from Washington in the early summer.[96] Judging

[88] *Ibid.*, Apr. 13, 1824.
[89] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1824.
[90] *Ibid.*, May 25, 1824.
[91] *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1824.
[92] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 30, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 444.
[93] *The Star*, June 11, 1824, quoting *Western Carolinian*.
[94] *Raleigh Register*, June 22, 1824.
[95] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1824; William Robards to H. G. Burton, Williamsborough, Mar. 17, 1824, Hutchins G. Burton Papers, 1809-39.
[96] *Western Carolinian*, Aug. 17, 1824; R. M. Saunders to Thomas Ruffin, Milton, July 30, 1824, *Ruffin Papers*, I, 308.

from his own experience with the people at muster and tax gatherings, Williams was convinced that his methods of electioneering, if employed by the electoral candidates, would bring success, "for all that is wanted is a fair representation of Crawford's character and qualifications to give him the majority."[97] He had recently returned from a long trip through the western counties and urged Yancy to prod the Crawford leaders into greater activity.[98] A considerable shift to Crawford was reported.[99]

On October 12, the Crawford committee of correspondence appealed to the freemen of North Carolina through a public address defending the regular method by which the Crawford ticket was formed, warning the people against a ticket unpledged to any candidate and promoted by political adventurers, presenting the qualifications and public policies of Crawford, and attacking at great length the policy of protective tariff. "That General Jackson is in favour of these high duties there can remain no doubt."[100]

[97] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Surry County, July 25, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 44 and June 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[98] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Surry County, July 18, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[99] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 26, 1824; Lewis Williams to Thomas Ruffin, Surry County, Aug. 15, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 310-311. A Jackson leader reported: "The Cause has declined much since the return of our *Oracles,* and while their faces are new, and the *responses* fresh and accompanyed with congressional matters it is useless to oppose *strongly.*" Dr. Jos. W. Hawkins to William Polk, Shocco Springs, Aug. 6, 1824, Polk MSS.; Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Surry County, June 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[100] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 19, 1824. The address, which filled nearly two pages, was signed by Joseph Wilson, Joseph J. Daniel, Bartlett Yancy, Robert Strange, James Graham, James W. Clark, and William Ruffin. At the time the address was issued, the members of the People's ticket were just beginning to pledge themselves publicly to support Jackson. The Crawford committee was concerned over the proper method of getting the address before the people. Only the three Crawford newspapers could be counted on to print it, and of these only the *Raleigh Register* had a considerable and scattered circulation. Joseph Gales, editor of the *Register,* suggested that three or four thousand copies be printed in pamphlet form for distribution. William Ruffin to Bartlett Yancy, Raleigh, Sept. 21, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

The Crawford leaders conducted the campaign for their regular candidate according to the regular methods, and, though surprised at the strength of the opposition, never seriously doubted his success in North Carolina.[101] They thought that in the nation at large the election would go to the House of Representatives, where Crawford or Adams would be chosen.

[101] [Josephine Seaton], *William Winston Seaton . . .*, 161; Will Miller to Thomas Ruffin, Warren, Oct. 17, 1824, Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1753-1888.

CHAPTER VI

THE CALHOUN CAMPAIGN

Calhoun wrote in December, 1823, that the campaign was "really a struggle between the people and the would-be leaders and dictators, who by securing the old presses, and what are called the leading politicians, expected to control the power of this government. They believed that the Intr, the Register, and the Enquirer, were amply sufficient to secure North Carolina."[1] He was pleased at his prospect in North Carolina and the nation. Half of the newspapers in the State were presenting his claims to the public, and his leaders in other states were lending their influence to his campaign in North Carolina. During the past eighteen months the activity of Charles Fisher had produced an impressive Calhoun movement. The Secretary of War was confident of victory in North Carolina.

Calhoun's character, high talents, keen intellect, attractive personality and distinguished public career as legislator, administrator, and consistent Republican were presented ably and vigorously as his qualifications for the presidency.[2] In Congress he had risen rapidly to prominence as an able and eloquent champion of national honor in urging war and its vigorous prosecution; and afterwards, he so zealously promoted a nationalist program of reconstruction and progress as

[1] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Dec. 2, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 483. The newspapers to which Calhoun referred were the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D. C.), the *Raleigh Register,* and the *Richmond Enquirer.*

[2] Perhaps the best analysis of Calhoun's career was the pamphlet, *An Address to the Citizens of North-Carolina . . .* , distributed late in 1823. It contrasted the careers of Crawford, the unreliable Republican and "soldier of fortune in politics," and Calhoun, the undeviating Republican and constructive statesman. "Where now is William H. Crawford? Dwindled into a pigmy by the side of a giant."

to elicit the sober judgment of John Quincy Adams in 1819 that "he is above all sectional and factious prejudices more than any other statesman of this Union with whom I have ever acted."[3] He favored the establishment of the second Bank of the United States, a protective tariff, adequate national defence, and especially a national system of internal improvements. In regard to the powers granted Congress by the Constitution, he was avowedly a broad constructionist in his views.[4] His supporters were particularly happy in pointing out the skill, economy, and efficiency of his administration and reform of the War Department.[5]

Calhoun's views on public policies were well known in contrast to Crawford's and were in apparent disfavor with the North Carolina congressmen and a portion of the State. But his constructive governmental program evoked considerable response in North Carolina. The *Elizabeth City Star* hailed him as a friend of the navy and internal improvements.[6] And *The Star,* in reply to an attack from the *Milton Gazette,* declared that he, as did nearly all "real republicans," favored efficient, though not excessive, national defence against possible dangers from Florida, Canada, the sea, and the frontier.[7] Calhoun's report to Congress in 1819 on the need of a road from Maine to Louisiana and a line of inland navigation from Boston to Savannah, his official visit in the same year to the coast of North Carolina, and his interest in the opening of an inlet to Albemarle Sound had not been forgotten in the

[3] Adams, *Memoirs,* V, 361. In 1822 Adams wrote that "Calhoun has no petty scruples about constructive powers and State rights." *Ibid.,* VI, 75.

[4] Though Calhoun's nationalistic philosophy was well known on account of his votes and speeches in Congress, he sought in the campaign of 1824 to placate the fears of the state rights group in the South. Charging that his position had been misrepresented in Virginia, he avowed a strong attachment to "State Rights"; but he declared that no general rule of construing the constitution could be formulated and cited the records of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe as authority and justification for his own positions on public issues. J. C. Calhoun to Robert S. Garnet, Washington, July 3, 1824, D. F. Houston, *A Critical Study of Nullification in South Carolina,* 143-145.

[5] *The Star,* Nov. 7, 1823; "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 321-322.

[6] *The Star,* Sept. 26, 1823. [7] *Ibid.,* Oct. 17, 1823.

State. His aggressive advocacy of internal improvements since the war was put forward as "an indication of his wisdom and good policy, and as the principal motive that will induce his fellow citizens to give him their suffrages."[8] In the West and the extreme East, the policy of internal improvements and Calhoun, its ablest advocate, were in considerable favor. Discussion of the tariff issue scarcely began while Calhoun was a prominent candidate. Early in the campaign, he had declared his support of "the principles of '76 . . . and . . . the system of measures, which the experience of half a century has shown to be necessary."[9]

In the campaign of 1824, sectional appeals were not emphasized, because sectional consciousness was not acute and it was evident to each candidate that success could be attained only by securing more than sectional support. Such appeals were decried in North Carolina, particularly by the Calhoun forces,[10] because they would tend to benefit Crawford, who was more truly the southern candidate, and to alienate the considerable Adams support which it was hoped could be secured for Calhoun.

However, there was no hesitancy by Calhoun and his friends in reaping all possible advantage from appeals to state pride and resentment at subservience to Virginia. Calhoun wrote to a supporter in Salisbury:

I am satisfied, that nothing ever threw your State so much in the background, as the impression, that she was the mere appendage of the Ancient Dominion. . . . It appears to me that the ground might be taken with advantage both in your papers and correspondence of supporting the Carolina candidate. The two states were originally one, and ought probably never to have been separated. Their character and interest are the same; and if they should act together North Carolina, as being the greater, must have proportionately greater influence. The two Carolinas acting with Pena. and being supported by the policy of the Genl. Admn. and the soundness of their cause could scarcely fail of success.[11]

[8] *The Star,* Oct. 17, 1823.

[9] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, War Dept., Aug. 1, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 482.

[10] *The Star,* Sept. 19, 1823.

[11] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Mar. 18, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 478

Fisher, in supporting his resolutions in the legislature of 1823, declared that Calhoun had given proofs of his friendship, regard, and attention to the interests of North Carolina by securing for it the Cherokee lands, whose proceeds were devoted to the state program of internal improvements, and by placing it for the first time upon a basis of equality with other states in furnishing cadets for West Point. "We may hope for better treatment from John C. Calhoun" than from the Virginia candidate. He boldly declared that North Carolina was entitled to representation in the executive and judicial as well as the legislative branches of government, and that, but for a constitutional guarantee, it would be neglected even in the legislative department.[12]

Calhoun, "advocate and friend of the Navy," was presented as better qualified to meet the menace of the "*unholy* designs" of the "Holy Alliance" than Crawford and his party, who desired to prostrate every branch of national defence.[13]

Calhoun considered that "on North Carolina the contest will greatly depend."[14] Throughout the year 1823 he was highly pleased with the progress of his campaign in the State. In the nation at large, "I do not consider myself now, as strong, as Mr. Adams, but still, I have advantages over him, that, in my opinion, are so great, that I would not exchange prospects with him. My course has been more uniform, and distinct, than his; and I am more intimately connected with the late war and the measures, which have grown out of it, than he, or any other candidate."[15]

The Crawford supporters did not regard Calhoun as a menace to the success of their candidate. His character, talents and worth were admitted; but his youth unsuited him for the

[12] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 323.

[13] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 10, 1824.

[14] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, War Dept., Mar. 18, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 477; John C. Calhoun to John Ewing Calhoun, Washington, Sept. 28, 1823, J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,* 214.

[15] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, June 11, Aug. 1, Dec. 2, 1823, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 480-484.

presidency which had been filled by "venerable Fathers of their Country" who had spent their youth in its service.[16] His advocacy of adequate national defence and his record as Secretary of War were attacked as wasteful, extravagant, and un-American;[17] and he was dubbed the "Army candidate" who as president would seek to strengthen the army and thereby force a resort to direct taxes.[18]

The chief objection to Calhoun in North Carolina, however, arose from his prominent connection with the nationalistic program of the young Republicans.

> The present fashionable ultra republicans have gone mad further than the sound Federalists of the old school, and that Mr. Calhoun is at the head of the new school cannot be questioned. I do not believe that there is any intelligent Federalist in No. Ca. that upon his own principles can keep pace with the new school republicans. The new school has taken the principles of the old Federalists but press their principles much further, I mean on the subjects of internal improvement etc., and especially in a latitudinous construction of the constitution generally.[19]

So alarmed was Mangum at the "splendid & profuse policy" which he thought "would characterize the administration of either Clay or Calhoun" that to him they were the least desirable of the presidential candidates.[20]

Calhoun was called the "Federal candidate" whom the Federalists would support in an effort to split the Republican party; and a united Republican support of Crawford was the only means of "preventing an incestuous union between Federalists and discontented or deluded Republicans." Blackledge declared in the legislature of 1823 that

> a numerous and expensive army, governed with Turkish despotism—a gigantic system of internal improvements, carried on by the General Government at the expense of the sovereignty

[16] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 22, 1823.

[17] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 9, 16, 20, 27, 1824, articles "Economy—Mr. Calhoun" by "Cassius."

[18] *Ibid.,* Sept. 26, 1823.

[19] Willie P. Mangum to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 287-288.

[20] Willie P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington City, Feb. 11, 1824, Mangum MSS.

of the States—a consolidation of power wrested from state sovereignty and vested in the General Government, are, I believe, the fundamental features of that gentleman's policy. They are too gorgeous and magnificent for the simple republicanism of this country, however suitable they may be to the regal dynasties of Europe.[21]

One prominent Crawford supporter found it "strange that the slang whangers who were noted Federalists are applauding Calhoon so much and extolling him for his genuine Republicanism."[22] The *Western Carolinian* accused the Crawford leaders of raising the cry of Federalism against Calhoun to revive party bitterness and thereby delude the Republicans into support of Crawford, and having failed in this, of seeking to win that party by placing the names of three or four Federalists on the Crawford ticket.[23]

Calhoun was declared by the Crawford leaders to have no chance in the country at large, and the "clamor and intemperance" of his campaign were characterized as the usual art of the political minority.[24]

The vigorous campaign waged by the Calhoun organization, the brilliant career and attractive personality of Calhoun, the unpopularity of Crawford and the caucus, and the profound discontent, economic depression, and spirit of revolt were successful in establishing Calhoun as the strongest opposition candidate to Crawford in North Carolina. Under Charles Fisher's leadership, an active Calhoun organization was working with confidence in success and a Calhoun-controlled People's ticket was well along toward completion when Pennsylvania eliminated the Secretary of War from the presidential contest in March, 1824. "Every thing was going on in this state to our hearts best wishes, & I have no doubt, Mr. Calhoun, would have obtained its unanimous vote."[25]

[21] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* IV (1927), 454-455.

[22] William Lenoir to W. B. Lenoir, Fort Defiance, Feb. 16, 1824, General William Lenoir Papers, 1754-1929.

[23] *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 13, 1824.

[24] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 13, 1824. Mangum believed that Calhoun could carry only South Carolina and New Jersey. W. P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington City, Feb. 11, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[25] B. B. Smith to J. G. Swift, Raleigh, Apr. 17, 1824, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

Calhoun and his program were too intellectual, nationalistic, and progressive to produce widespread popular enthusiasm in North Carolina over his candidacy. It is doubtful whether the Calhoun appeal could have produced a revolution sufficient to overcome the great advantages of Crawford. The replacement of Calhoun by Jackson in March, 1824, changed greatly the aspect of the campaign of 1824 in North Carolina. The People's ticket then stood in reality for the people's candidate.

CHAPTER VII

THE JACKSON CAMPAIGN

The Jackson campaign was predicated in large measure on his fame and on the emotional appeal of his personality and military career. It was unnecessary to detail his military career when every person knew of his romantic though inconsequential connection with the Revolution, his Indian wars, his victory at New Orleans, and his recent invasion of Florida. He was "Old Hickory," "the last of the Revolutionary patriots," "the pillar of the republic," the "second Washington" who fought to protect and defend independence with even more success than the first one had done to win it. His "history is . . . the record of his country's glory."[1] The American people should bestow the unsought honor of the presidency in discharge of its debt of sheer gratitude and as a mark of its confidence and affection.

> The people are fascinated & influenced by the splendor of his military fame *alone*. It is not that they think or care about his being an able statesman that they will vote for him. . . . [He] has slain the Indians & flogged the British & spilled his blood in defence of his country's rights—therefore he is the bravest, wisest, & greatest man in the nation—even the memory of Washington is lost in the blaze of the Genl's Glory & in the glare of his bloody laurels.[2]

Jackson was the man of the people, the genuine people's candidate. "He is the favorite of the people; he belongs to them; he has been raised with them; he has served them both in peace and war; they feel grateful to him, and will take a

[1] *The Star*, Nov. 5, 1824, Jackson broadside.

[2] P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Orange County, Apr. 15, 1824, Mangum MSS.

pride in honoring him."[3] The contest was declared to be the most important in the history of the government—a contest for the liberties and rights of the people and the existence of the republican system of government which were menaced by the aristocratic, intriguing, caucusing politicians. Jackson would do equal justice to all sections and to all the leading interests of the nation; whereas North Carolina could expect nothing from Crawford, who had already bartered away the offices to Virginia and New York.[4]

It was said further that his civil career was no less distinguished than his military. He was a man of character, honor, and integrity, hospitable and tender in his home life, cautious and deliberate in planning but vigorous in execution. Facing the danger of foreign aggression, the country should place at its head a soldier and statesman who commanded respect from abroad and enjoyed the unlimited confidence of the people at home.[5]

The tariff issue, pressed by the Crawford men after Jackson voted for the tariff bill of 1824, was discussed widely in North Carolina. When questioned as to his views on the tariff, Jackson replied in a letter to Dr. L. H. Coleman of Warrenton, N. C., that he favored a "judicious examination and revision" to create a home market and a more equitable distribution of labor, to provide revenue for the discharge of the national debt, and to protect manufactures as a means of securing economic independence and national defence in time of war.[6] There was some open advocacy of the tariff in North

[3] *The Star,* May 7, 1824, quoting from the reply of the Davidson grand jury to John Long's Address in the *Western Carolinian* of April 27.

[4] W. B. Lewis to William Polk, Fairfield, Mar. 15, 1824, Polk MSS.

[5] *The Star,* Mar. 26, 1824, quoting the "Address of the Committee of the Harrisburg Convention."

[6] There has been some confusion in regard to the Coleman-Jackson correspondence relating to the tariff. Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson,* III, 34, published the letter of L. H. Colman, Warrenton, Va., to Jackson in which he stated that he was "one of the six members of the Virginia Assembly in the caucus last winter who voted for you. . . ." Parton, *op. cit.,* III, 35-36, also published Jackson's reply of April 26, 1824, to Colman. But *The Star,* May 28, printed Jackson's letter as addressed to Dr. L. H. Colman of Warrenton, N. C.; and *Niles' Weekly Register,* XXVI, 245, published it as addressed to Dr.

Carolina;[7] but generally Jackson was declared to be no more favorable than Crawford, who had recommended it in his treasury reports.[8] On the tariff issue, the Jackson men in North Carolina were plainly on the defensive.

Internal improvements was a more popular issue than the tariff, and Jackson profited by it. He had voted for the General Survey Bill of 1824, which was characterized by the *Elizabeth City Star* as "the beneficent act of the last session of Congress";[9] and, while not so clearly identified with the policy as Calhoun, he was acceptable to the internal improvement sentiment[10] which was hostile to Crawford. The *Eliza-*

L. H. Coleman, Warrenton, N. C. Jackson later referred to his letter to "Doctor Coleman, N. Carolina, which has went the rounds of the papers." J. S. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* III, 259. Bassett in *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* I, 345-347, gave Warrenton, Va., as Coleman's address but later in his *Correspondence,* III, 249-251, stated that Warrenton, N. C., is correct. The North Carolina address is undoubtedly correct. The records do not show that Coleman was a member of the Virginia Assembly. "Littleton H. Coleman" appears in the Warren County, North Carolina, records of the period. Deed Books, no. 19, 224, and no. 22, 179, courtesy of Miss Mabel Davis, Warrenton, N. C. In *The North-Carolina Register . . . 1823,* p. 58, Littleton W. Coleman is listed as a resident physician of Warren County, North Carolina. Marquis James, *Andrew Jackson. Portrait of a President,* 78-79.

[7] *Raleigh Register,* May 7, 11, 1824, communications of "An Independent Citizen"; *Western Carolinian,* June 15, 1824; *The Star,* Apr. 30, 1824, reply of Rowan grand jury to Long's address. Daniel M. Forney of Lincoln County was for Jackson and the tariff. Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 46. The Davidson County grand jury replied to a letter of John Long, in support of Crawford because of his opposition to tariff and internal improvements, that "they are fair and legitimate subjects of legislation, about which the wisest and best men of our country differ in opinion; and on which unanimity of opinion is neither to be expected nor desired. We repose entire confidence in the wisdom of Congress; and should acquiesce, with cheerfulness in any decision that honorable body shall make on the subjects you refer to. . . ." *The Star,* May 7, 1824.

[8] *Western Carolinian,* June 1, 15, 1824; *The Star,* May 14, 1824; communication signed "Freedom"; *ibid.,* June 11, 18, Oct. 22, 1824.

[9] *Elizabeth City Star,* June 5, 1824.

[10] *The Star,* Apr. 30, 1824, reply of Rowan grand jury to Long's address. Jackson's opinion, expressed as follows in a letter of July 22, 1822, to Monroe in regard to his veto of the Cumberland Road bill, was not generally known: "I have read with great attention and much interest your message to Congress on the subject of the constitutional

beth City Star and the *Catawba Journal* were open advocates of a federal policy of internal improvements.[11] Though they preferred Adams, their desire to defeat Crawford made them support the People's ticket which was in reality for Jackson. Now that the General Survey Bill had been passed and the federal government seemed committed to a policy of internal improvements, the Piedmont and sound region were interested in the possibility of a national road, an inland waterway, and an ocean inlet.[12] Jackson was not only the running mate but also allegedly the personal preference of Calhoun for the presidency; and Calhoun's better-known views on national issues were believed generally to be acceptable to Jackson.[13]

Jackson was not taken seriously at first by the friends of the other candidates. "We cannot persuade ourselves that there are many, if any men, of sound judgment, with even a tolerable share of information, who can think seriously of placing such a man as Gen. Jackson in the Presidential chair of this

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right to adopt, and execute a system of internal improvements. Your reasoning I think Just, and the conclusions well drawn, and must be satisfactory to the nation. My opinion has always been that the Federal government did not possess the constitutional right, that it was returned to the States." J. S. Bassett, ed., *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson,* III, 171. But two years later he expressed the opinion that Congress could appropriate money for roads and canals which were of national importance. The states must give their consent to the projects since Congress could not invade the sovereignty of the states. Bassett, *op. cit.,* III, 253.

[11] *Elizabeth City Star,* June 5, 1824; *Catawba Journal,* Feb. 3, 1824. The *Catawba Journal,* Feb. 8, 1825, had no fear of broad construction policies: "There may be danger of a 'consolidation'; but there is more danger to be apprehended of a *separation!*"

[12] John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Washington, Dec. 10, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 484; *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 4, 18, Feb. 8, 1825; *Catawba Journal,* Jan. 4, Feb. 8, 1825; R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 11, 1825, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 449. Public meetings were held in Lincoln County, Statesville, and Salisbury, and memorials or resolutions were drawn up asking that the route of the National Road be located through the community of the memorialists. In the Salisbury meeting particularly, in which Charles Fisher and John Giles were active, there was avowed belief in the constitutionality and desirability of internal improvements by the federal government. Saunders forwarded to the President a petition received from Raleigh.

[13] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 29, 1824, communication signed "Carolina."

young and growing Republic."[14] The noisy Jackson admirers were thought to belong for the most part to the uninformed, and it was hoped that they would not be able to form an electoral ticket.[15] Perhaps Jackson would "soon give over & then the contest will be, where it always ought to have been—Crawford & Adams—Republican & Federal."[16]

Jackson's career and personality were alleged to unfit him for the presidency. He had grown tired of the civil offices which he had held for brief periods. High tribute was paid generally to his military service, but he had been sufficiently rewarded; and wide information and disciplined statesmanship, not military service, constituted the qualifications for the presidency. His violent temper, rash judgment, and disregard or ignorance of the laws and principles of civil liberty had led him into disobedience of orders, insubordination, and the exercise of military despotism. The comparison of Washington and Jackson was ludicrous. "Power in his hands is not suffered to sleep."[17] Under the administration of the "military candidate," the constitution would be endangered;[18] and "we should have a quarrel trumped up, about some imaginary grievance or other; we should put on our seven-leagued boots and heavy armour, and go tilting over the world in search of adventures."[19]

By some, Jackson's military achievements were considered "much overrated."[20] Apologizing for his "Eigrance," one of the plain people wrote that "I Dont Know why General Jackson Should Bare all prases of our last ware . . . Know man in the world Can thinke more of general Jackson then I do for the Field . . . But for god Sake Kee him ther and not

[14] *Ibid.*, Mar. 12, 1824.

[15] William Robards to H. G. Burton, Williamsborough, Mar. 17, 1824, Hutchins G. Burton Papers, 1809-39.

[16] J. G. Blount, Jr., to John Gray Blount, Tarboro, July 20, 1824, John Gray Blount Papers, 1777-1873.

[17] *Raleigh Register,* May 25, 1824, quoting *Richmond Enquirer.*

[18] T. P. Little to William Polk, Winton, Mar. 24, 1824, Polk MSS.

[19] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 1, 1824.

[20] William Lenoir to W. B. Lenoir, Fort Defiance, Feb. 16, 1824, General William Lenoir Papers, 1754-1929.

Let him Come to the Chaire . . . Every good general ant fite for a presidance."[21]

Late in the campaign, when Jackson's chances appeared brighter, the attacks became more forceful and bitter. His past life was explored, and every public and private act which might injure his cause was published abroad. His private life was described as a "disgusting detail of squabbling and quarreling—of pistolings, dirkings, & brick battings, and other actions reconcileable neither to religion or morals."[22] The Jesse Benton pamphlet, enumerating in detail the violent acts of Jackson's early career, was sent from Tennessee and circulated in the State.[23] Campaign personalities extended even to Mrs. Jackson. Reflecting people were called on not to "place such a woman as Mrs. Jackson at the head of the female society in the U. States."[24]

Attempts were made to fasten on Jackson the onus of Federalism. The Monroe-Jackson correspondence of 1816-17, in which Jackson advised the president-elect to choose his cabinet without regard to party, was published; and most of the Federalists in the State were declared to be supporting him.[25]

Jackson's support of the tariff of 1824 caused him to be labeled as a tariff man, and probably lost him many votes in the State.[26] His vote for the bill made it doubly expedient that Crawford's friends denounce the tariff in North Carolina. "*Agriculture* and *Commerce,* are to be sacrificed at the shrine of Manufactures. . . . The pockets of the good people of this State . . . are to be picked to enrich those of another section."[27] Richard Dobbs Spaight, in an address to the free-

[21] William Moore to Thomas Ruffin, Clover Garden, Oct. 21, 1824, Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1753-1888.

[22] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 14, 1824.

[23] *Ibid.,* Oct. 12, 15, 1824. [24] *Ibid.,* Nov. 5, 1824.

[25] *The Star,* May 21, 1824; *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 30, Nov. 2, 1824.

[26] *Raleigh Register,* June 11, 22, 29, July 27, Oct. 5, 19, Nov. 2, 1824; Henry Seawell to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Mar. 23, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 299; William Robards to H. G. Burton, Williamsborough, Mar. 17, 1824, Hutchins G. Burton Papers, 1803-39. "We have commenced the general discussion upon the Tariff . . . Jackson goes full length. This . . . must injure him in the South." R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Mar. 30, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 445.

[27] *Milton Gazette,* Apr. 22, 1824.

men of his district, denounced the tariff as "legalized robbery."[28] In reality the Crawford men were glad that the new law was not more highly protective. "The Bill as passed is not so exceedingly objectionable," wrote Mangum; "instead of being a law for the *protection* of Domestic Manufactures, it is a *revenue bill*— It was gutted in the Senate."[29] North Carolinians were asked whether they should vote for *"Mr. Crawford who is one of our own planters, and opposed to the New tariff system? Or, for Gen. Jackson, who is in favour of it?"* The all-important question is "whether the southern farmers shall continue to *live independent,* or become *hewers of wood and drawers of water?"*[30] The Crawford committee of correspondence, in its address on the eve of the election, sought at length to show that the tariff was detrimental to the fundamental interests of North Carolina and presented Crawford as the only candidate whose tariff views were in harmony with the interests of the agricultural South.[31] The Crawford leaders pressed their advantage but did not succeed in making tariff the dominant issue of the campaign or even in rallying all of the anti-tariff men to Crawford.[32] The tariff question was so difficult to understand and its economic effects so indirect and intangible that North Carolinians were not greatly stirred.[33]

Jackson was not attacked so vigorously on the issue of internal improvements for which there was considerable support in the State. Moreover, the extent of that support was uncertain on account of confusion in the popular mind over the state and federal issues. Of the members of Congress, only Long and Spaight delivered public attacks on the policy

[28] New Bern, June 21, 1824, John H. Bryan Papers.

[29] Willie P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington City, May 24, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[30] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 26, 1824, communication signed "Macon."

[31] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 19, 1824.

[32] J. J. Carrington to Willie P. Mangum, Orange, Jan. 12, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[33] A Crawford electoral candidate seemed to think it strange that Peter Forney, a candidate on the People's ticket and an iron manufacturer, could be in favor of Jackson who had voted for a duty on iron in 1824. Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 46.

and on Jackson as its advocate.[34] The Crawford newspapers and the public address of the committee of correspondence avoided the issue. One of the Crawford congressmen believed that Congress had the constitutional power to make internal improvements. However, he opposed the General Survey Bill because he preferred "Congress expressing the objects themselves, to leaving to the discretion of the president."[35]

The formation of the People's ticket in an irregular and secret manner by a few individuals during and after the session of the legislature was condemned as more unrepresentative and dictatorial than the public meeting of the Crawford legislators in caucus. "The old mode of Caucussing is much Cryed down by those who are deeply engaged in raising little Caucuses all over the State."[36] But the People's ticket, though formed by a few unofficial friends of the candidate and not spontaneously by the people, met such wide approval as to render futile the Crawford effort to discredit it as a political fraud.[37]

The anti-Jackson campaign was ineffective in checking the Jackson movement. "It is very difficult to electioneer successfully against Genl. Jackson—his character and services are of that kind which *alone* the people can appreciate and feel—one cup of *generous whiskey* produces more military ardor, than can be allayed by a month of reflection and sober reason," wrote John Owen of Bladen County.[38] Crawford retained

[34] *Raleigh Register,* Mar. 16, June 29, 1824. Spaight, in an address to the freemen of his district, opposed the policy on the grounds of unconstitutionality and inexpediency. He asked if, under the construction of the constitution which gives Congress the power to make roads and canals, "can not the Congress of the United States take from you, without your consent, your slaves?" If there were no constitutional objection, the policy would be inexpedient because the roads and canals would be made almost exclusively outside of the South and North Carolina in particular. New Bern, June 21, 1824, John H. Bryan Papers.

[35] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 20, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 441-442.

[36] William Lenoir to W. B. Lenoir, Fort Defiance, Feb. 16, 1824, General William Lenoir Papers, 1754-1929.

[37] *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 20, Feb. 3, Aug. 24, Sept. 10, Oct. 19, 1824; *The Star,* Jan. 24, Feb. 6, May 21, Oct. 1, 1824.

[38] John Owen to Bartlett Yancy, Bladenboro, July 21, 1824, Miscellaneous Papers, Series One, II, 105.

the support of the majority of Republican leaders and prominent men, but his candidacy evoked little popular enthusiasm. Some of the Jackson following was able, enlightened and prominent,[39] though this element for the most part was not so enthusiastic about him.[40]

The resort to public meetings, rejected early in 1824 by the Calhoun leaders, became the most pronounced feature of the Jackson strategy. The effect on the popular mind of the constant assertion of an assured Crawford victory had to be overcome; and many people, unaccustomed to participating in presidential elections, must be stirred to militancy and brought to the polls. It was not sufficient to present the People's ticket through the press. The campaign must be taken to the people, and the people must be spurred to action and made to feel that they themselves were engaged in a crusade. The Jackson public meeting at Raleigh on April 2, brought about and dominated by William Polk, A. S. H. Burges, William H. Haywood, Jr., Calvin Jones, and a few others, recommended that Jackson men in all the counties hold public meetings.[41] This was the signal for the rising of the people.

From April until the day of election, scarcely an opposition newspaper was issued which did not contain the report, resolutions, and vote of one or more public meetings or militia musters. Even grand juries took test votes on the candidates. Many of the military officers in the State were active for Jackson,[42] and the numerous militia musters were convenient for electioneering purposes. More than one hundred meetings were reported in which Jackson received a total vote of approximately 11,100, Adams 3,000, and Crawford 900.[43] Ninety per

[39] John Branch, Montfort Stokes, Charles Fisher, William Polk, and A. D. Murphey were men of high ability and standing. The People's ticket was composed entirely of worthy men who were popular in their districts and against whom their enemies made no charge of political inconsistency. At least two of the men chosen on the Crawford ticket were conceded to be very unpopular among the people in their districts. John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladen County, Aug. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* 1, 314.

[40] P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Orange, Apr. 15, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[41] *The Star,* Apr. 9, 1824.

[42] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 20, 1824.

[43] The compilation was made from the files of *The Star, Raleigh Register,* and *Western Carolinian.*

cent of the meetings were for Jackson and the remainder for Adams. Twenty-nine of these meetings were held in Wake, Orange, and Rowan, the counties of Polk, Murphey and Fisher, respectively. Nearly three-fourths were in the western half of the State and about one-half of the remainder, in the counties bordering on Pamlico and Albemarle sounds. Adams sentiment was strong in the meetings held in Montgomery, Robeson, Cumberland, Richmond, Anson, Iredell, Mecklenburg, Orange, and Guilford counties, though not in a majority except in Guilford and Montgomery.

At the August election for members of the legislature, unofficial polls were opened in the town of New Bern, in Hertford, Richmond, Cabarrus, Rowan, and Wilkes counties, and at some places in Wake and Robeson counties, to gauge the popularity of the candidates. In this test, more than half as many votes were cast as in the official election held at the same time. Adams received heavy majorities in Robeson and Richmond counties, and a large vote in Cabarrus and the town of New Bern, while Jackson carried the others. The Crawford vote was inconsequential. During the campaign many communications were published purporting to reflect the sentiment of various sections of the State—practically all favorable to Jackson.

The *Register* denied the reliability of a few petty musters and other small gatherings of people "where perhaps one-third of the votes are illegal" as an index of sentiment in the State, and protested against the use of militia musters by partisan officers for electioneering purposes.[44] A Crawford electoral candidate in the western part of the State described the political manipulation of the militia musters:

In almost every Captain's company the drums were beating and fifes whistling for the hero of New Orleans. The officers would treat their men, make them drunk and then raise the war whoop for General Jackson. Then the poor, staggering, drunken, and deluded creatures would sally forth for the place pointed for them to vote. The result was always in favor of

[44] *Raleigh Register*, Aug. 6, Sept. 3, Oct. 5, 1824. The total Crawford vote in the State, as shown by the public meetings, was declared to be much less than "every man of intelligence" knew he'd get in Granville County alone.

Jackson. I have conversed with some of them afterwards who told me they did not intend to vote that way at the proper election, they voted so just to please their officers. . . . The sober and industrious people have never been in favor of Jackson.[45]

In the August election,

where unauthorized persons opened boxes at some of the places of election to receive votes for the President, they were desirous only of votes for Jackson. Most of the voters known to be favorable to Mr. Crawford heard nothing of the proceeding; and but few of those who did, paid any attention to it, considering all such attempts to misrepresent public sentiment as improper and pernicious, and therefore ought to be discouraged by all orderly citizens.[46]

The Jackson campaign method "of prematurely collecting the opinion of the people" was denounced as a practice "which was never resorted to, we believe, on any former occasion."[47]

Until Jackson's prospects brightened, "the great body of the people seemed to take no interest in the election, but now there is not a farmer in our country but has formed his opinion. . . . We talk of nothing else and think of little besides in our part of the country."[48] Orange County was said to be "in a buble for Jackson."[49]

All parties are beginning to feel something like a disgust at the bare mention of the Presidency. Yet . . . it is nevertheless the all-absorbing topic of every circle: the political veteran of the legislative hall, and the novitiate of the schoolroom—the silver-headed matron and the blooming maiden—the wrinkled beldame, and the ruddy Miss—all, all must have much to *say*, and much to do, in making a President.[50]

[45] Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 46.

[46] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 24, 1824. There was no previous advertisement of the unofficial poll at New Bern, and more than one hundred did not vote. Of the unofficial votes cast, 104 were for Jackson, 91 for Adams, and 16 for Crawford. *Carolina Sentinel,* Aug. 7, 1824.

[47] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 24, 1824.

[48] W. H. Haywood, Jr., to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Apr. 17, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[49] Michael Holt to Willie P. Mangum, Mar. 23, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[50] *Western Carolinian,* June 8, 1824.

The Jackson forces were jubilant and confident of victory. Looking forward to the probable election of the president by the House of Representatives, in which the North Carolina delegation was for Crawford, the *Western Carolinian* warned the people of a Crawford scheme to secure in the August election a majority of the legislature of 1824. Should that occur, the members of Congress "would seize upon this circumstance to justify themselves for deserting the cause of the people. . . . The people ought to know explicitly the sentiments of every candidate on this subject before they vote."[51]

The great activity and bright prospects of the Jacksonians converted some who desired to favor the winner.[52] It was conceded by friend and foe that the People's ticket would sweep the majority of western counties where Jackson was the unquestioned favorite, and some of the southern counties where Adams, if not the favorite, was quite strong.[53] Crawford leaders confessed alarm to each other.[54] There were belated suggestions that Crawford missionaries be sent into the South and West and that the electoral ticket be changed;[55] but nothing was done. The *Register* lost some of its complacent assurance of victory but continued to "entertain the same opinion we have uniformly expressed, that Mr. Crawford will obtain" the vote of North Carolina "by a large majority."[56]

[51] *Western Carolinian,* July 27, 1824.

[52] W. A. Thorpe to Willie P. Mangum, Fishdam, Apr. 17, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[53] *The Star,* Sept. 17, 1824; P. H. Mangum to Willie P. Mangum, Orange, Apr. 15, 1824, Mangum MSS; John Owen to Bartlett Yancy, Bladenboro, July 21, 1824, Miscellaneous Papers, Series One, II, 105; R. D. Spaight to Bartlett Yancy, Smithfield, Aug. 25, 1824, *ibid.,* II, 106; William J. Polk to William Polk, Prospect Hill, Mar. 25, 1824, Polk-Yeatman Papers, 1707-1915; Bartlett Yancy to Thomas Ruffin, Caswell, June 29, 1824, Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1753-1888; John D. Love to S. F. Patterson, Waynesville, Aug. 18, 1824, Patterson Papers, 1777-1933.

[54] W. H. Haywood, Jr., to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Apr. 17, 1824, Mangum MSS.; John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladenboro, Sept. 28, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 315.

[55] John Owen to Thomas Ruffin, Bladen County, Aug. 20, 1824, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 314.

[56] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 6, 1824.

The parting shot of the Jacksonians was the broadside distributed with *The Star* of November 5. At great length it denounced the caucus and criticized Crawford as a mediocre public servant of inferior talents, an unstable Republican, an inefficient administrator, the head of the radical party, the candidate of the caucus system, an advocate of no constructive public policy, and an invalid. Briefly and in glowing generalities, it eulogized Jackson as the greatest and ablest statesman since Washington.[57]

The Crawford and the Jackson leaders conducted their campaigns with all the energy and ability at their command, but it was not unlikely that the result of the election would be influenced by the action of those citizens who were both anti-Crawford and anti-Jackson.

[57] *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ADAMS MEN IN THE CAMPAIGN

In the absence of any noticeable Clay strength, the Adams following became the coveted prize of the campaign in North Carolina after Jackson replaced Calhoun in March, 1824, and attracted the major portion of his support.

Three newspapers, the *Carolina Observer,* the *Hillsborough Recorder,* and the *American Recorder* (Washington), announced for Adams in the fall of 1823.[1] Before the formation of the Crawford and the People's tickets, the *Recorder* declared that Adams was as strong in that congressional district as either Crawford or Calhoun and threatened that "should the representatives of *this people* presume to withhold from, or even passively permit others, to prevent their constituents from voting for the man of their choice . . . they will certainly merit, and will as certainly meet with the contempt and disregard due such a course of conduct." In the name of all those friendly to the advancement of Adams, it demanded that "a ticket for this public veteran be given the people." The *American Recorder,* apparently alone in this early attempt to secure a separate Adams ticket, was throughout the campaign the most uncompromisingly loyal Adams organ in the State.[2] The *Elizabeth City Star* expressed a preference for Adams after Calhoun's withdrawal.[3] The *Catawba Journal,* established at Charlotte late in 1824, gave him what aid it could in the short time remaining before the election.[4]

Adams' supporters based their preference on his superior abilities as a statesman, his thorough knowledge of domestic

[1] *The Star,* Oct. 31, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer; American Recorder,* Aug. 1, 1823.
[2] *American Recorder,* Nov. 21, 1823.
[3] *The Star,* Apr. 30, 1824, quoting *Elizabeth City Star.*
[4] *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824.

and foreign affairs, his long public service under Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, his republican simplicity of manners, and his sterling integrity.[5] To refrain from choosing him would prove the voters "ungrateful" for his long and distinguished service.[6] His "stern moral principles," which had restrained him from "the unchristian act of fighting a duel," were held up by "Gustus" to the Quakers in an appeal for their support.[7] John Stanly disliked Adams' desertion of the Federalist party, but preferred him on account of his qualifications and experience and the belief that, since the South had furnished four of the five presidents, the selection of a northern man might do much to "remove discontent, cultivate harmony, and strengthen the Union, upon which our hope of Independence must rest."[8]

In the early months of 1824, when Crawford's physical condition threatened to eliminate him from the contest, some of his friends considered the relative desirability of the other candidates. Hutchins G. Burton told William Plumer, Jr., that "in case it became certain, or very probable that Crawford could not be elected the State of North Carolina would support Mr. Adams—the Common People were for him now —& nothing would be easier than for a few men to give him the fifteen votes of that State."[9] Burton called on Adams and expressed the desire that, in the event of Crawford's failure, the friends of Crawford would support him. In May, Burton reported to Plumer that Crawford's supporters would be forced by his desperate health to agree upon another candidate and that they were "very averse to General Jackson, but most emphatically so to Mr. Calhoun."[10] Plumer wrote in February that "the North Carolinians—in the House say that if choice is between the two [Jackson and Adams], they shall give the preference to Adams."[11]

[5] *Ibid.,* Oct. 31, 1823, quoting *Carolina Observer.*
[6] *American Recorder,* Aug. 1, 1825. [7] *The Star,* Sept. 24, 1824.
[8] "Debate on the Fisher Resolutions," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* V (1928), 222. On the ground that Adams had no chance against the caucus candidate, Stanly advocated the election of Calhoun.
[9] E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.,* 100-101.
[10] *Ibid.;* Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 265, 355-356.
[11] E. S. Brown, *op. cit.,* 103.

There was virtually no public anti-Adams campaign in the State, partly because it was generally agreed that he was a poor third in numerical strength but chiefly because both the Jackson and Crawford supporters hoped to win the Adams following. The Jackson papers were especially conciliatory, referring to Adams and his friends in the most complimentary terms.

An occasional contributor attacked Adams. "One of the People" recalled Adams' early Federalism and expressed fear of his broad construction philosophy, although his views on tariff and internal improvements were not stated in the newspapers of the State.[12] There was some sectional opposition to Adams. A South Carolina pamphlet, circulated in North Carolina, urged that "if . . . the *southern people* wish *restrictions* upon state sovereignty, and other measures, whose end shall be *abolition of slavery,* by *emancipation among us,* then, of course, Mr. Adams should be preferred."[13] "Orlando," a Calhoun supporter, thought that Adams "has . . . some tincture of the principles of his father" and that "a President from a non-slave holding state can never be the man whom the policy of North Carolina should support. . . . Plain and simply, . . . the sentiments of the north are too widely different from those of the south."[14] *The Star* and the *Hillsborough Recorder* bitterly attacked the principles of "Orlando" as illiberal, sectional, and tending to promote civil war and destruction of the

[12] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 31, 1824. Though Adams did not make public his views, he expressed them to friends and correspondents. In March, 1824, he told William Plumer, Jr., that he had written to a prominent man in South Carolina in advocacy of a revision of the tariff on the principle of protection. He expressed to George McDuffie in May his satisfaction with the tariff act of 1824. In December he explained his views to James Barbour: he was satisfied with the tariff of 1824, but if a change was to be made he was inclined to favor a reduction. He did not believe that any constitutional question was involved in the issues of protective tariff and internal improvements. E. S. Brown, *op. cit.,* 105-106; Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 353, 451-452.

[13] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 17, 1824.

[14] *The Star,* Aug. 22, Sept. 19, 1823. William Gaston of New Bern, a former Federalist and a supporter of Calhoun in the early campaign, recognized that Adams could not possibly secure the vote of North Carolina because of "a Southern feeling too strong to be combatted, and a resentment amongst the Federalists at what *some* call his apostacy!!" Quoted in V. Maxcy to J. G. Swift, Tulip Hill, Oct. 5, 1823, Gen. Joseph G. Swift Papers.

Union.[15] Lewis Williams wrote that Adams "cannot be supported where he is known or seen unless by such as disregard all principle, and act with a view to their own ultimate elevation or advantage. The good of the nation requires that any such looking man as Adams should be defeated in his pretension to the Presidency. To any one who has seen him this would be an all sufficient argument."[16] William Lenoir conceded Adams' ability but objected to him on the grounds that he would try to "agrandise himself," that he lived in a section which did not tolerate slavery, and that he probably would favor a protective tariff.[17]

The Adams organs did not press vigorously the cause of their candidate. Though preferring him and believing him entitled to precedence over Calhoun on account of his age and long public services, they regarded Calhoun as a statesman of the first rank against whom they had no violent objections.[18] Jackson's replacement of Calhoun was displeasing to the Adams men, though many of them preferred him to Crawford. John Stanly wrote to the manager of the Jackson campaign:

> As I love my country and prize its constitution, I abhor and detest a Caucus . . . and am prepared to go very far in opposition to its designs, and may possibly, (if Calhoun or Adams are not run in the State,) give my support to a ticket in favor of Genl Jackson. Should I do so, I fear it will be, because I apprehend more from Crawford, than I hope from Jackson. . . . The Interest & honor of our Country, require a different man from either of them.[19]

The Adams men were clearly chagrined at their prospects in the election. After March, 1824, the People's ticket contained a majority of Jackson men; and, though it was generally reported that the ticket, if successful, would vote for the stronger of the candidates, Jackson or Adams, the intelligent

[15] *The Star,* Sept. 19, 1823.

[16] Lewis Williams to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Dec. 22, 1821, *Ruffin Papers,* I, 258.

[17] William Lenoir to W. B. Lenoir, Fort Defiance, Feb. 16, 1824, General William Lenoir Papers, 1754-1929.

[18] *The Star,* Oct. 31, 1823, quoting the *Carolina Observer; American Recorder,* July 18, Aug. 1, 1823; *Hillsborough Recorder,* May 19, 1824.

[19] John Stanly to William Polk, New Bern, Mar. 16, 1824, Polk MSS.

Adams men knew that a vote for the People's ticket would be a vote for Jackson.

The Crawford press, as Murphey had prophesied early in 1824, warned the people of the danger of voting for an unpledged ticket. "Can anyone say what individual this ticket will eventually support?" Created for Calhoun, it is now for Jackson and may be for Clay or Adams.[20] It was asserted that the design of the anti-caucus ticket was "to delude the people, inasmuch as it holds out the idea equally, to the friends of Gen. Jackson and Mr. Adams, that it was created for the peculiar benefit of each."[21] Such a ticket would stimulate intrigue and confusion, result in disappointment to the friends of one candidate, and place the election of president in the hands of fifteen unpledged men.

The *Hillsborough Recorder,* which preferred Adams, expressed concern over obtaining in the election "a free expression of the wishes of the people. . . . We like to see things called by their right names. If it was a Calhoun, or is now a Jackson ticket, let it be so named; and if it obtain the vote of the State, we shall not have aught to say against it." The People's ticket, formed originally as a Calhoun-Adams-Jackson compromise with the electors free, will vote for Jackson. "As it is, we should like to see three tickets in this State, one for Mr. Adams, one for Gen. Jackson, and one for Mr. Crawford. Each tub might then stand on its own bottom; and, *after the election,* each party could count its own forces."[22]

The Jackson men appealed for a united anti-Crawford vote for the People's ticket as the only means of defeating Crawford and caucus and of throwing off the reputation of subservience to Virginia. In the campaign among the people, some of the anti-Crawford men tried to capitalize the indefiniteness of the ticket. They "swear to the common people, that this ticket will vote for no one but Genl. Jackson, & to the federal gentlemen of some standing, they held out the idea, that this is an electioneering trick, and the electors on this ticket, will certainly vote for Mr. Adams."[23] It was asserted that the views of

[20] *Raleigh Register,* Apr. 20, 1824. [21] *Ibid.,* Sept. 10, 1824.

[22] *Hillsborough Recorder,* May 19, 1824.

[23] John Owen to Bartlett Yancy, Bladenboro, July 21, 1824, Miscellaneous Papers, Series One, II, 105.

Adams and Jackson on national issues were similar and that the friends of Adams would be helping him more by voting for the People's ticket than by dividing the people and allowing the radicals to carry out their policies.[24] The hostility of the Adams men to Crawford and caucus was so great that the Jackson leaders had reason to believe the majority would support the People's ticket.[25] "*But at all events* there ought not to be *two tickets* in opposition to Crawford," wrote John Stanly. "I feel as if I would rather Jackson should have the majority of this State than Crawford, if it were only to carry the election into the House of Representatives, where Crawford would not only be defeated, but possibly Adams be elected."[26]

If the People's ticket was pledged to vote for the stronger candidate, might not some method be devised of measuring the relative strength of Jackson and Adams? Several methods were proposed, apparently by Adams men. A state convention was suggested by "One of the People" as the fairest mode of ascertaining public sentiment.[27] "Communicated" suggested that polls for testing the popularity of the candidates be opened at the election of members of the General Assembly in August.[28] This suggestion was complied with in a few counties. In two of them Adams received a majority and in the others a creditable vote.[29] "Amicus Populo" made two proposals: at the polls in November let one box be provided for electors and one for presidential candidates; or let each voter write on his ballot the name of the candidate of his choice. Otherwise, "we may assi[s]t in electing a man, that, of all others, is the most objectionable to the friends of Mr. Adams."[30] "Union," the Anson and Richmond County grand jurors, and the *Carolina Sentinel* urged the anti-Crawford men to vote for the People's

[24] *Western Carolinian,* Aug. 31, 1824.

[25] *Ibid.,* Apr. 20, 1824, quoting *Elizabeth City Star,* which preferred Adams; *The Star,* Apr. 16, 1824, quoting a letter published in the *Carolina Observer* and Aug. 27, 1824, quoting a letter published in *Western Carolinian; Catawba Journal,* Oct. 12, 19, 26, Nov. 2, 9, 1824; *American Recorder,* Aug. 1, 1823; *Elizabeth City Star,* Oct. 16, 1824; *Carolina Sentinel,* Nov. 6, 1824.

[26] John Stanly to William Polk, New Bern, Mar. 16, 1824, Polk MSS.

[27] *The Star,* Mar. 26, 1824.

[28] *Ibid.,* July 23, 1824.

[29] *Cf. supra,* 139.

[30] *The Star,* June 25, 1824.

ticket and designate Jackson or Adams on the ballots.[31] William A. Blount, an electoral candidate on the People's ticket who personally was friendly to Calhoun and hostile to Jackson, issued a circular asking each voter in his district to "write on the Back of his Ticket the name of the individual he prefers—Jackson or Adams."[32] The Adams men were desirous of maintaining the individuality of their candidate.

The friends of Adams in the State were sober, industrious, respectable,[33] and sufficiently numerous to influence the strategy of both the Jackson and Crawford campaigns. On the basis of public meetings, the test vote in August, and correspondence, the chief Adams strength was believed to lie in the northeastern and south central parts of the State and in Guilford County; and it was thought that the majority of Federalists favored him.[34] The northeastern and south central sections of the State had shown Federalist tendencies since 1800.[35]

While the Adams men seemed disposed to accept the People's ticket, a minority to whom Jackson was totally unacceptable demanded a separate Adams ticket. "A Farmer" declared the People's ticket but little preferable to the caucus ticket. "This is an absurd attempt to amalgamate very discordant materials: it calculates so to swell and distort our apprehensions of the

[31] *Ibid.,* Sept. 10, Oct. 15, 1824; *Western Carolinian,* Oct. 26, 1824; *Carolina Sentinel,* Sept. 18, 1824.

[32] Oaklands, Oct. 26, 1824, John Gray Blount Papers, 1777-1873. The earliest suggestion of writing the name of the favorite candidate on the electoral ballot, which the author has found, was made in September, 1823, before it was known that there would be more than one electoral ticket. The suggestion was made as a means of furnishing guidance to the North Carolina members of the House of Representatives, which would probably have to elect the next president. *Carolina Observer,* Oct. 9, 1823.

[33] "The sober and industrious people have never been in favor of Jackson for that important office. They have been either for Adams or Crawford." Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 46.

[34] *The Star,* Sept. 17, 1824; A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, May 3, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 297.

[35] Since 1800, Montgomery County had furnished a Federalist representative in five Congresses of the United States; Wayne, in three; Cumberland, in two; Mecklenburg, in two; Lincoln, in one; Rowan, in five; Craven, in four; Chowan, in one. *A Manual of North Carolina* 1913, 914-923.

caucus, and our fears of the success of the candidate recommended by it, as to make us entirely forget the vast disparity there is between the remaining candidates."[36] Later he continued,

> Do not endeavor to trick us into the support of Gen. Jackson, for fear of the success of Mr. Crawford, when we want neither of them, and are equally opposed to the success of both. . . . Let us have a ticket of our own; and then if we are beaten we will submit as becomes men and bow to the will of the majority; but we will not have the additional mortification of having occasioned our own overthrow.[37]

In Lincoln County, according to a Crawford leader, the Adams men generally would not support Jackson; and some of them would vote for Crawford as the lesser of two evils.[38] The *American Recorder,* though confessing its belief that Jackson would succeed in North Carolina, avowed its hostility to the military candidate.[39]

After the August election, in which only a few counties with an Adams following opened separate polls for testing the relative strength of the candidates, the movement for a separate Adams ticket became pronounced. On August 16, a public meeting in Concord declared for Adams, appointed a committee of correspondence, and invited those favoring him for president and Calhoun for vice-president to nominate electors in the districts and send the names to B. S. King of Raleigh for publication as an Adams ticket.[40] In a letter of September 22 to *The Star,* King declined to assist in the movement on the ground that "nothing can be done for Mr. Adams in this state," and recommended that Adams and Jackson men vote for the People's ticket and mark the ballots with the name of their preference.[41] W. S. Blackledge of Craven, who had refused to subscribe to the People's ticket compromise early in 1824 on account of his hostility to Jackson and in justice to the many friends of Adams in the East, was replaced on the ticket

[36] *Western Carolinian,* May 25, 1824. [37] *Ibid.,* July 6, 1824.
[38] Robert Williamson to Bartlett Yancy, Verdant Dale near Lincolnton, July 26, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 46-47.
[39] *American Recorder,* June 4, 1824. [40] *The Star,* Sept. 3, 1824.
[41] *Ibid.,* Sept. 24, 1824.

by Vine Allen, who favored Jackson, at a public meeting in New Bern, September 23.[42] The *Register* explained this break in the People's ticket on the ground that Blackledge was favorable to Adams and declared that the same course was being considered in two or three other districts.[43]

The editor of the *Carolina Observer* stated that Adams was certain to win in the nation, that a pronounced movement in his behalf had made him the strongest candidate in North Carolina, that Crawford was not favored by a majority of voters in any county, that an unpledged People's ticket might obtain fewer votes than if it were pledged for Adams, and that North Carolina should grasp the honor of leading in a pre-election shift to his support. However, separate Adams and Jackson tickets might endanger the primary objective of repudiating the caucus system and candidate. Though most of the electors on the People's ticket personally preferred Jackson, they would be responsive to the popular will. Therefore, all anti-Crawford voters should vote for the People's ticket and indicate their choice of candidates.[44]

Nor did the unpledged People's ticket meet the approval of all the Jackson men. Some of them understood that the compromise was between the Jackson and Calhoun men only; though, as long as it seemed advantageous, they did nothing to correct the popular understanding that the People's ticket might support Adams if he were stronger. The Jackson men were handicapped in being unable, for fear of giving offence to the Adams men, to advocate their cause under the name *Jackson,* which was an important asset.[45] The confusion became so great that many Jackson men feared the People's ticket had been formed to cheat them by securing the election of Adams.[46] William Martin of Pasquotank, who was placed on the ticket in February as a Calhoun man, was particularly displeasing to the Jackson men of his district because of reputed

[42] *Carolina Sentinel,* Sept. 11, 18, 25, 1824.
[43] *Raleigh Register,* Aug. 31, 1824.
[44] *Carolina Observer,* July 22, Aug. 19, Sept. 2, 16, Oct. 7, 1824.
[45] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, May 3, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 297.
[46] *The Star,* Sept. 3, 1824.

partiality to Adams. In the summer of 1824, though Martin was still on the ticket, Kedar Ballard announced himself in the *Edenton Gazette* as an electoral candidate, pledged, if elected, to vote for Jackson.[47] A Jackson public meeting in Stokes County reprobated the People's ticket by a decisive vote.[48] Shepperd, a Jackson man on the People's ticket, wrote Polk that the popular aversion to the name Adams was such that, at least in his county, but few of the Jackson majority "will vote for the people's ticket unless it is known to be certainly for him."[49]

The Jackson leaders were somewhat alarmed by the movement for a separate Adams ticket, but far more so by the growing suspicion of the People's ticket among the Jackson voters and by the uncertain effects which this suspicion might have on the election. "The Presidential contest in this State has reached a crisis," declared *The Star*. It accused the Crawford men of breeding the confusion and of trying to stimulate an Adams ticket just as they had a Jackson ticket before Calhoun dropped out. It exhorted the friends of Jackson and Adams: "Let our principal object . . . be Measures—not Men."[50] In view of the danger to Jackson and of his clear superiority over Adams as demonstrated during the campaign, Shepperd suggested that the electors on the People's ticket issue a public address pledging themselves to vote for Jackson. He did not believe a public avowal for Jackson would bring about an Adams ticket, for the reason that the Adams men did not think the People's ticket intended to support their candidate; and even if it did, a separate Adams ticket would be less injurious than an unpledged People's ticket. "By the proposed address we will not disappoint the immediate friends of Adams whilst on the other hand we at once remove the doubts & apprehensions of Jackson's friends & deprive the caucus party of a darling subject for electioneering trick."[51] The

[47] *Elizabeth City Star*, May 15, July 10, 1824.

[48] *Raleigh Register*, Aug. 31, 1824.

[49] A. H. Shepperd to William Polk, Germanton, Sept. 5, 1824, Polk MSS.

[50] *The Star*, Sept. 3, 1824.

[51] A. H. Shepperd to William Polk, Germanton, Sept. 5, 1824, Polk MSS. Shepperd wrote that he had already received the assent of General Stokes, who promised to write Josiah Crudup about the plan.

Edenton Gazette asserted that the "friends of Genl. *Jackson* have nothing to fear if they break off their tangling alliances and give over half way timid measures, *and act* with that decision and firmness which the occasion requires, and to which their strength invites them."[52]

The Star of October 8, 1824 contained a letter from Montfort Stokes pledging his vote for Andrew Jackson in case the People's ticket should succeed. Forney, Dudley, and Drew[53] made similar pledges a week later. By November 5, the entire People's ticket, with the exception of Leake of Richmond, Martin of Pasquotank, and Blount of Beaufort, had declared for Jackson. These three, from districts of considerable Adams strength, would vote, it was said, for him who should appear to be the people's choice against the caucus candidate.[54] Meanwhile, private assurances had been given Polk that Martin and Blount, though they had not made a public declaration on the ground that it would injure the cause by alienating some Adams votes, would certainly vote for Jackson.[55]

It was well that the electors pledged themselves for Jackson, for at least three persons had already announced as electors on a separate Jackson ticket—William Lord of Cumberland, Mark Brittain of Burke, and General Kedar Ballard; and other districts had been called on to complete the ticket. Brittain and Ballard withdrew their names after the People's ticket was pledged for Jackson.[56]

The *Register* now admitted that the contest had settled down to two candidates.[57] It then pointed out to the "numerous and intelligent" Adams men, whose interest in their country would not allow them to refrain from voting, that the friends

[52] *Raleigh Register,* Sept. 17, 1824, quoting *Edenton Gazette.*

[53] Drew, in a letter dated October 10, stated that his pledge was published in the *Halifax Free Press* about six weeks before. *Warrenton Reporter,* Oct. 22, 1824.

[54] *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824.

[55] Henry Potter to William Polk, Washington, N. C., Oct. 22, 1824, Polk MSS. Potter declared that "the Caucusites . . . strive hard to divide our forces & to draw off the friends of Adams in this section of country."

[56] *Western Carolinian,* Oct. 12, 1824; *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 19, 1824.

[57] *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 12, 1824.

of Adams and Jackson could not unite, for in New England the Adams men reject Jackson with "scorn" and in the South, the Jackson men "vilify" Adams.

It is then lending a helping hand to Mr. Adams, for his adherents in this State to vote for the Crawford Ticket; for if there be no election by the people, and our Members should despair of electing Mr. Crawford, in the House of Representatives, then the friends of Mr. Adams would have a claim on them, in consideration of their having supported Mr. Crawford in preference to Gen. Jackson in this State.[58]

Moreover, until recently it has been said that the People's ticket would vote for Adams if he were more popular. "This bait was thrown out to the supporters of Mr. Adams, with the expectation, no doubt, that they might thus be induced to give a pledge to vote for the People's Ticket, which afterwards they would have some scruples in disregarding. Would it not be a just act of retaliation, on the part of the friends of Mr. Adams, to unite with those of Mr. Crawford?"[59]

The Star's final appeal before the election on November 11 was for the friends of Adams and Jackson, who "are on the most friendly terms," by the "sacrifice of personal predilection on the altar of patriotism," to vote for the People's ticket. The issues of the election were declared to be whether the people shall select their chief rulers or submit to caucus dictation, and whether North Carolina shall be a sovereign and independent state or the "mere province" of another.[60] The Adams men, courted vigorously in the last days before the election by both the Crawford and Jackson forces, had a "just cause of complaint" at the Jackson pledge of the majority of the People's ticket; but it was not thought that the grievance was sufficient to drive them in a body to the caucus candidate. The *Catawba Journal* asserted that, to the Adams men in the campaign, the election of the candidate of their choice was a principle secondary to the suppression of caucus, and that, while some would not go to the polls and a few would vote for Crawford, the majority would support the People's ticket.[61]

[58] *Raleigh Register,* Nov. 5, 1824. [59] *Ibid.*
[60] *The Star,* Nov. 5, 1824.
[61] *Catawba Journal,* Oct. 12, 19, 26, Nov. 2, 1824.

CHAPTER IX

THE ELECTION

Despite the vigor of the presidential campaign, the vote cast was disappointing. The election of members of the General Assembly in August had been completely overshadowed in the newspapers by the presidential contest; but the total vote in the presidential election was only 36,036, approximately two-thirds of that cast in the state election.[1]

The smaller vote was attributed to the general ticket system, under which "the people will not attend the polls—they feel an unconquerable aversion to vote for men of whom they know nothing."[2] Because of the pledging of the People's ticket for Jackson, some Adams men did not vote.[3] The general understanding that the election would go to the House of Representatives decreased the importance of the choice of electors and may have contributed to the smallness of the vote.

While the presidential vote in North Carolina was smaller than that cast in state elections, it was "much greater than ever taken on a former occasion of this kind in North Carolina."[4] The general ticket system and the absence of a real contest in presidential elections before 1824 had resulted in a total popular vote of only 9,549 in 1816, and 3,567 in fifty-three of the

[1] Returns of the August election are incomplete. A compilation from newspaper returns for thirty-eight of the sixty-three counties shows a vote slightly exceeding 35,000—nearly equal to the presidential vote in all sixty-three. The presidential vote in the thirty-eight counties for which there are returns of the August election was 23,098.

[2] *Catawba Journal,* Nov. 16, 1824. The returns of the presidential election of 1820 show that in several counties the elector of the local district ran considerably ahead of the remainder of the ticket. For instance, Robert Love of Haywood received 107 votes in Burke County as against 72 for the next highest candidate; and Nash County gave 20 votes to John Hall and 10 for the remainder of the ticket. Legislative Papers, 1820.

[3] *Catawba Journal,* Nov. 16, 1824; *Western Carolinian,* Nov. 16, 1824.

[4] *Western Carolinian,* Nov. 16, 1824.

sixty-two counties of the State for which there are returns for the election of 1820.[5]

[5] Legislative Papers, 1816, 1820. The following table compiled from the original sheriffs' returns shows the popular vote by counties in North Carolina in the presidential elections of 1820 and 1824:

	1820	1824		
County	Total	People's Ticket	Crawford Ticket	Total
Anson	*	456	236	692
Ashe	62	169	265	434
Beaufort	55	296	291	587
Bertie	148	269	353	622
Bladen	*	57	386	443
Brunswick	10	56	97	153
Buncombe	110	405	18	423
Burke	107	508	86	594
Cabarrus	44	322	51	373
Camden	84	66	78	144
Carteret	*	271	11	282
Caswell	202	90	1036	1126
Chatham	65	178	688	866
Chowan	24	151	136	287
Columbus	*	102	94	196
Craven	51	400	211	611
Cumberland	74	568	165	733
Currituck	141	127	26	153
Davidson	**	422	121	543
Duplin	149	284	319	603
Edgecombe	13	406	481	887
Franklin	*	440	295	735
Gates	24	201	28	229
Granville	171	187	889	1076
Greene	19	222	13	235
Guilford	24	250	584	834
Halifax	96	347	567	914
Haywood	116	592	0	592
Hertford	95	275	80	355
Hyde	27	148	26	174
Iredell	46	274	345	619
Johnston	0	257	206	463
Jones	8	196	62	258
Lenoir	22	172	149	321
Lincoln	89	636	334	970
Martin	0	187	261	448
Mecklenburg	84	661	234	895
Montgomery	*	453	76	529
Moore	0	198	248	446
Nash	20	170	350	520
New Hanover	103	236	347	583
Northampton	66	154	335	489
Onslow	61	295	225	520
Orange	176	638	591	1229
Pasquotank	34	330	13	343
Perquimans	16	94	65	159
Person	75	56	283	339
Pitt	*	361	191	552
Randolph	137	141	394	535
Richmond	57	441	92	533
Robeson	27	235	82	317
Rockingham	*	561	341	902
Rowan	55	979	101	1080
Rutherford	21	654	177	831
Sampson	*	431	156	587
Stokes	13	709	286	995
Surry	223	810	411	1221
Tyrrell	66	144	2	146
Wake	44	700	466	1166
Warren	130	152	496	648
Washington	43	125	110	235
Wayne	32	264	161	425
Wilkes	8	436	400	836
Totals	3567	20415	15621	36036

* Returns missing.

** Davidson County was formed in 1822 from a part of Rowan County.

After all, the vote in 1824 indicates that considerable success was achieved by the supporters of the People's ticket in producing a popular revolution.

Early returns from the central and eastern counties placed Crawford in the lead, but the western counties swelled the vote of the People's ticket to victory, with a vote of 20,415 to 15,621 for the Crawford ticket.[6]

The *Register* professed surprise at the size of the majority for the People's ticket, but explained it by the large number of votes in the western counties and by the cooperation of four or five thousand Adams votes. Confessing its fear from the beginning of a union of the Adams and Jackson men, it said: "We believe that it is conceded, even by the supporters of Gen. Jackson, that if three tickets had been run, Mr. Crawford would have received the vote of the State." Upon this basis, it asserted that Crawford was favored by a plurality of the voters and therefore was "the strongest Candidate in the State."[7] But the opposition press did not concede that victory was due to the Adams men or that Crawford was the strongest candidate. The *Catawba Journal,* an Adams paper, contended that in Mecklenburg County Adams men gave half the votes received by the Crawford ticket, that a still larger number supported Jackson, and that some did not vote at all.[8] *The Star* admitted that Adams men in some counties supported the People's ticket, but asserted that in a greater number of counties, particularly in the north central and south central parts of the State, they voted for the Crawford ticket, and that Jackson's majority would have been greater if there had been three tickets.[9]

[6] *The Star,* Nov. 26, 1824. The *Register's* report on November 23 of the official vote, 20,177 for the People's ticket and 15,896 for the Crawford ticket, is inaccurate. The original sheriffs' returns are in Legislative Papers, 1824.

[7] *Raleigh Register,* Nov. 23, 1824. Adams himself believed that his friends were responsible for Jackson's victory in North Carolina. E. S. Brown, *Letters of William Plumer, Jr.,* 121.

[8] *Catawba Journal,* Nov. 16, 1824. Another Adams newspaper, astonished at the small majority received by the People's ticket, charged that the friends of Jackson had "not made as vigorous exertions as might have been expected." *Carolina Observer,* Nov. 18, 1824.

[9] "Many of Mr. A's friends voted for the Caucus Ticket under the

The opposition press was exultant over the victory, which seemed of epochal importance. "We have cause . . . to rejoice that a new era has taken place in the history of North Carolina—that she has aroused from her political apathy, and asserted her independence; and that henceforth she will fling back, with scorn, the charge of vassalage to Virginia!"[10] Now that North Carolina had asserted its independence and the sovereignty of the people over caucus dictation, "let who will then be President, our main object is accomplished—the charm of a caucus nomination is dissolved, the sovereignty of the people has been maintained, and North Carolina assumes that rank among her sister states, which the character of her citizens, her resources, her stedfast adherence to republican principles, so justly entitle her to."[11]

The campaign in North Carolina had been followed with interest by Calhoun and Jackson leaders in Washington, who were highly gratified by the outcome.[12] After the election but before the result was known, Calhoun expressed the opinion that Ohio and North Carolina would determine whether the people should elect the president.[13]

An analysis of the results of the election is illuminating. The Adams strength was chiefly in the south central and northeastern sections of the State where the survival of Federalism was pronounced; and the Adams vote, though divided, was cast in the main for the People's ticket. The original sheriffs' returns show that in ten counties, all of which were in the

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belief, that, by so doing, they were weakening the General's strength, and promoting the cause of their favorite; while many of the friends of Gen. Jackson, being dissatisfied with the People's Ticket, because they did not consider it as pledged to support their favorite, refused to vote; and others, supposing the success of the Ticket to be certain, neglected to attend the polls." *The Star,* Dec. 3, 1824.

[10] *Western Carolinian,* Dec. 7, 1824.

[11] *Catawba Journal,* Nov. 30, 1824.

[12] J. H. Eaton to William Polk, Washington City, Dec. 11, 1824, Polk MSS; John C. Calhoun to Charles Fisher, Dec. 10, 1824, "Calhoun-Fisher Correspondence," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VII (1930), 484. The outcome in North Carolina was a surprise to Henry Clay. Calvin Colton, ed., *The Private Correspondence of Henry Clay,* 106.

[13] John S. Ellis to William Polk, Washington, Nov. 17, 1824, Polk MSS.

south central and northeastern parts of the State, the voters carried out the pre-election suggestion of marking the ballots with the name of the candidate of their preference.[14] In Anson County, 83 Adams men voted for the Crawford, and 214 for the People's ticket. In Cabarrus, 10 voted for the Crawford and 64 for the People's ticket.[15] In nine other counties, all of the votes designated "Adams" were cast in favor of the People's ticket. In Beaufort and Cumberland counties, the "Adams" votes comprised 565 of the 864 votes cast for the People's ticket; and 696 of the 2,512 cast for the People's ticket in Anson, Cabarrus, Carteret, Hyde, Hertford, Pasquotank, Richmond, Tyrrell, and Washington. The total Adams vote in the eleven counties was 1,354. Guilford County, which had been considered for Adams,[16] gave Crawford a large majority. Guilford, Randolph, and Chatham, in which there was a Quaker element, voted large majorities against the military candidate. The Adams strength in these counties seems to have supported Crawford as preferable to Jackson, but chiefly as the weaker candidate in an effort to throw the election into the House where Adams might win.[17] The city of New Bern, an old Federalist and commercial center where Adams was popular, gave the People's ticket the decisive vote of 277 to 27; while Crawford carried the remainder of the county 184 to 123.[18] A Crawford partisan in Cumberland reported that "the Jackson & Adams party united in our county to a man."[19] Though impossible to ascertain definitely the vote for each of

[14] Legislative Papers, 1824.

[15] *Western Carolinian,* Nov. 16, 1824. The official Cabarrus return does not give this information. Counting Cabarrus, ballots in eleven counties were marked with the voters' preference of candidates.

[16] A. D. Murphey to William Polk, Haw River, May 3, 1824, *Murphey Papers,* I, 297. On April 27, there was held a small public meeting at Greensboro of citizens of Guilford County, which condemned "the attempts which have been made to *repress* the voice of the people," and voted almost unanimously for Adams. *The Star,* May 14, 1824.

[17] *The Star,* Dec. 3, 1824; H. M. Wagstaff, "State Rights and Political Parties in North Carolina, 1776-1861," *Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,* Series XXIV, nos. 7-8, 47.

[18] *Carolina Sentinel,* Nov. 13, 1824.

[19] George McNeill to Thomas Ruffin, Fayetteville, Nov. 13, 1824, Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1753-1888.

the three candidates, it seems clear that Jackson was the choice of at least a plurality of the voters.

Considering the State as a whole, the People's ticket carried the West and the portion of the East bordering on Albemarle and Pamlico sounds. Both sections were undeveloped, interested in internal improvements to overcome the serious handicap of inadequate transportation, and populated chiefly by small farmers who owned few or no negro slaves. Neither produced tobacco, rice, or cotton[20] in large quantities, nor was entirely committed by self-interest to the principles of state rights and strict construction. The People's ticket prevailed also in a belt of counties extending in an east and west direction through the center of the Middle East. This belt was remote from Virginia markets to the north and the Cape Fear River to the south, and had a less highly developed plantation and slaveholding regime than the regions immediately to the north and south. Twenty-three of the thirty counties whose slave population was less than the state average of thirty-two per cent of the total population gave majorities to the People's ticket. And so did nineteen of the thirty-three whose slave

[20] From contemporary evidence and the census of 1840, certain generalizations regarding the staple crop situation in the 1820's seem to be near the truth. Rice production on a commercial basis was confined to the southeastern corner of the State; tar, pitch, and turpentine, chiefly to the coastal plain region south of Albemarle Sound. The chief area of tobacco production was the tier of middle counties along the Virginia border. The total cotton crop of North Carolina in 1826 has been estimated at ten million pounds—much smaller than that of any other southern state and only one-seventh of that produced by either South Carolina or Georgia. F. J. Turner, *Rise of the New West,* 47. Its production was chiefly in the middle eastern counties, though it had begun to penetrate the West. *Raleigh Register,* Nov. 13, 1818, June 30, 1820; *ibid.,* Mar. 17, 1820, quoting *Fayetteville Gazette;* John F. Brevard to W. J. Wilson, Beaties Ford, Jan. 29, 1823, Brevard Papers; D. A. Tompkins, *History of Mecklenburg County and the City of Charlotte,* I, 94-96. In North Carolina, the expansion of cotton production into the Piedmont occurred chiefly after 1840. In 1824, it was a considerable though by no means dominant interest in the Middle East. Even in this section, the issue was not clearly drawn on the tariff, whose sectional bearings seem not to have been well understood. The center of slave population was slowly shifting westward; but in the 1820's the area of densest slave population was in the middle eastern counties. However, slave ownership was considerable throughout the State except in the mountain counties. *Cf. infra,* 162.

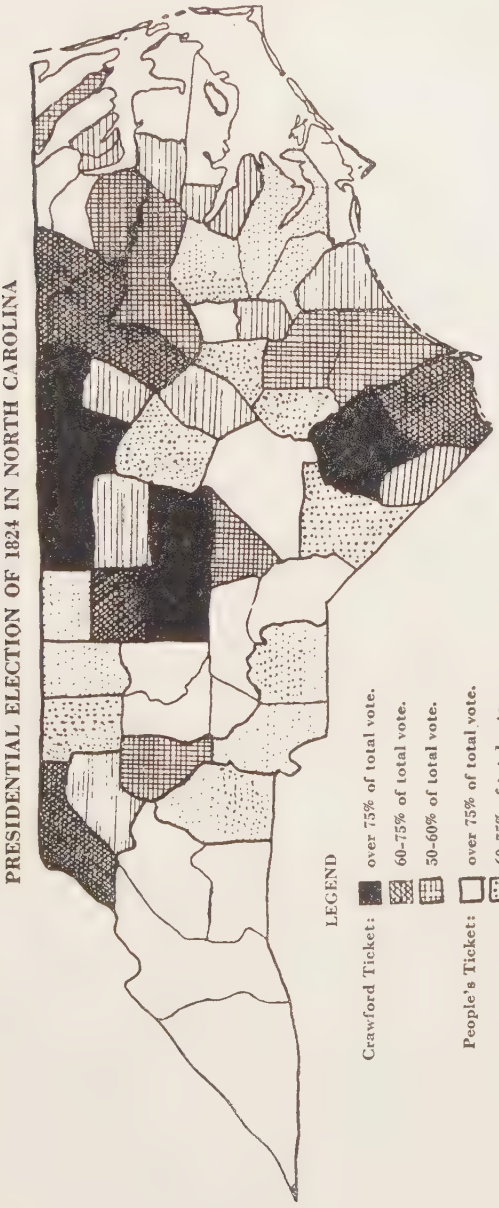
density exceeded the state average; but, in eleven of the nineteen, the slave density was only slightly above the state average. Sixty per cent of the total vote for the People's ticket was cast in counties where slaves numbered less than thirty-two per cent of the total population. The People's ticket was aided by the Federalists and by the personal popularity of Jackson and Calhoun; and the vote was to a degree a protest against the poor crops,[21] the serious economic depression since 1819, the political dominance of the politicians and aristocracy as exemplified by the caucus system, and the lowly situation of North Carolina in federal politics. In the West, the state issue of constitutional reform perhaps aided the other factors in producing a pronounced solidarity for the People's ticket; though, with eight counties in the West for Crawford and twenty-five in the East for Jackson, the cleavage was not greatly influenced by this sectional issue. The People's ticket was successful in forty-two of the sixty-three counties in the State.

A majority of the twenty-one counties carried by the Crawford ticket lay in the middle eastern section extending from the Virginia line southward across the State. This section was the most highly developed portion of North Carolina. It was the region of densest slave population. In it were the only areas which had developed a slaveholding, plantation regime based on staple crop production.[22] Its leading planters had already perceived the sectional bearings of the tariff, internal improvements, and nationalistic policies of the young Republicans and had taken refuge in the principles of state rights and strict construction as a guarantee of protection to their economic and social system. The counties along the Virginia border, home of the old tobacco aristocracy, closely bound to Virginia by geographic, economic, and social bonds; the rice region of the lower Cape Fear; and the Quaker counties of Randolph, Chatham, and Guilford, gave the heavi-

[21] *The Star,* Sept. 17, 24, 1824; *Raleigh Register,* Oct. 12, 1824.

[22] All the thirty-three counties whose slave density exceeded the average for the State, thirty-two per cent, lay in a region about 125 miles wide extending in a north and south direction across the State in the region of its greatest breadth.

DISTRIBUTION OF SLAVES IN NORTH CAROLINA IN 1820
Slaves number more than 50% of total population.
Slaves number 40-50% of total population.
Slaves number 32.1 (average for the State)-40% of total population.
Slaves number 20-32.1% of total population.
Slaves number less than 20% of total population.


PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1824 IN NORTH CAROLINA
LEGEND
Crawford Ticket:
over 75% of total vote.
60-75% of total vote.
50-60% of total vote.
People's Ticket:
over 75% of total vote.
60-75% of total vote.
50-60% of total vote.

est majorities to Crawford. The Crawford ticket was successful in six of the nine counties in which the slaves numbered more than fifty per cent of the total population. Sixty per cent of the Crawford vote was cast in the counties whose slave population exceeded the average for the State. Two counties in the far west, Ashe and Iredell, prevented a Jackson monopoly of that section. Their vote was probably due to the strong Crawford influence which the popular congressman, Lewis Williams, exerted in his district, although it was reported that the deputy sheriff in Ashe allowed boys to vote and friends of his political views to cast the votes of their absentee friends.[23]

The West possessed a greater voting though a smaller total population than the East in 1824; but the number of votes cast by the two sections was practically the same.[24] In the West, eight per cent of the total white and free colored population of 1820 participated in the election; in the East, nine per cent. In the area whose slave population exceeded the state average, ten per cent of the white and free colored population voted; while in that whose slave density was less than the state average, only seven per cent went to the polls.

A striking feature of the election was the large number of counties in which the victor received heavy majorities. The People's ticket received more than seventy-five per cent of the total vote in eighteen counties, and Crawford, in seven. In only nineteen counties did the victorious ticket receive less than sixty per cent of the total vote.

The number and prominence of the rival candidates, the bitterness of the contest, and the existence of only one national party have established the traditional view that the election of 1824 was a contest between rival personal leaders. Personalities were influential in North Carolina, particularly

[23] *Western Carolinian,* Feb. 1, 1825, communication signed "Justice."

[24] In 1820 the total population of the thirty-eight counties in the East was 341,781; of the twenty-four in the West, 297,048. However, the white and free colored population of the East was only 196,181 as against 237,631 for the West. The white and free colored population of the area of more than average slave density was 178,744 as against 255,068 for that of less than average slave density. The East cast a total of 17,599 votes in the election of 1824, and the West 18,437.

in the case of Jackson. There was some confusion and misunderstanding in regard to the issues and their sectional and economic bearings. However, a survey of the campaign shows that the strongest and most frequent appeals to the voters were based on public issues with which the candidates were identified rather than on their personalities. The popular vote, in size and distribution, indicates a strong and widespread Jackson following but also a pronounced response to the campaign appeals. Public issues were of great, if not determining, influence in the election of 1824 in North Carolina.

Upon receiving the sheriffs' returns of the election, Governor Holmes informed each elector of his election and requested his attendance at Raleigh on the first Wednesday in December.[25] When the legislature convened, he laid before it the sheriffs' returns.[26] On December 1, the electors met in Raleigh, cast the fifteen votes of North Carolina for Jackson as president and Calhoun as vice-president, and selected Thomas Jefferson Green of Warren County to carry the certified vote to Washington.[27] A gun for each elector was then fired, and one for Haywood County, which had given a unanimous vote for the ticket.[28]

Immediately after the election it was suggested to Yancy by Asbury Dickins, an active Crawford partisan and an employee of the Treasury Department, "whether among the electors of North Carolina, some few could not be found to vote for Mr. Crawford—at this critical point, even a single vote being important."[29] No evidence has been found indicating that the victorious electors on the People's ticket were confronted with this proposal.

[25] Letter Book 1822-24, Gov. Holmes, 275.

[26] *Ibid.*, 276.

[27] *Raleigh Register,* Dec. 3, 1824.

[28] *The Star,* Dec. 3, 1824.

[29] A. Dickins to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Nov. 26, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28; Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 387, 493. Dickins further suggested: "If nothing can be effected in this way, the next thing to be desired is that the North Carolina electors should vote for Mr. Crawford as vice president. To return Mr. Crawford to the Senate as one of the two highest for vice president would add greatly to the power of his friends in the House in the contest there for the presidency and if we failed there it would enable us to elect him to the vice presidency, and, thus secure his future succession [to] the presidency."

The electoral votes in the states confirmed the general impression that the election would be by the House of Representatives from the three highest candidates—Jackson, who had 99 electoral votes; Adams, 84; and Crawford, 41. Crawford had received the solid vote of but two states—Georgia and Virginia; and, though he was the personal choice of the congressmen from North Carolina and Delaware, his poor showing in the campaign, together with the serious condition of his health, virtually eliminated him from the contest in the House. He was not expected to receive more than four votes on the first ballot.[30] Mangum saw the possibility of a Crawford victory through a compromise by the Jackson and Adams men, if Clay could be committed to Crawford;[31] and he and Saunders sought a union with Clay's western support. "If we cannot elect Mr. C— we will make a common cause with them & be governed in the end by them." But Clay regarded Crawford's election as impossible, and the Crawford negotiators would make no promise as to the definite time of giving him up.[32]

The North Carolina delegation, upon its return to Washington in December, hoped and in case of some members believed that Crawford would win. Then it shifted to the belief that Jackson would be the victor. But soon after the first of the year it reached the opinion that Clay would support Adams and that the New Englander would be elected.[33] Perhaps in

[30] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 19, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 448; *Free Press*, Dec. 3, 1824. In January Crawford seriously considered the suggestion of friends that he give a "Grand Ball" to which "all Congress and all the citizens" should be invited, so that all could see that he was not seriously ill. Mrs. Crawford was afraid of the possible effect of such an occasion upon her husband, who had been secluded from society for nearly a year and a half. Gaillard Hunt, ed., *Forty Years of Washington Society*, 172.

[31] Willie P. Mangum to Jno. Robertson, Washington, Jan. 3, 1825, Mangum MSS.

[32] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 11, 1825, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 449.

[33] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Dec. 2, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28; Willie P. Mangum to Jno. Robertson, Washington, Jan. 3, 1825, Mangum MSS; Nathaniel Macon to Charles Tait, Washington, Jan. 9, 1825, *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers*, Series

October[34] and certainly by the middle of December, 1824,[35] Clay had come to the natural and reasonable decision to support Adams rather than Jackson.

The North Carolina delegation found itself in an embarrassing situation in reference to the House election. Neither of the leading candidates, Jackson and Adams, was its personal choice. And Crawford, its favorite, had been defeated in the popular election in North Carolina. Though some Crawford friends within the State professed to believe that the November election and the selection of the *Register* as public printer and H. G. Burton, who had attended the Crawford caucus, as governor by the legislature of 1824, proved that Crawford was the most popular candidate,[36] the congressmen did not question that the will of the people was against Crawford.[37] The Adams support in the State and some of Crawford's was hopeful that Adams would win.[38] The Jackson men believed that their candidate should receive the vote of the state delegation, in view of the clear expression of popular will, but that the delegation would vote for Crawford. An at-

VIII, 4; Nathaniel Macon to Capt. Otway Burns, Washington, Jan. 10, 1825, John H. Bryan Papers, I, 100; Willie P. Mangum to Mrs. Mangum, Washington, Feb. 6, 1825, Mangum MSS; R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Jan. 18, 1825, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 450. Lewis Williams had expressed the opinion to Yancy in December that Clay could not support either Jackson or Adams, "unless he becomes desperate and turns fool." Williams to Yancy, Dec. 12, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28. But by the first of the year he thought Clay would "cooperate with those with whom an association shall seem most advantageous." Lewis Williams to Thomas Ruffin, Washington, Jan. 1, 1825, Thomas Ruffin Papers, 1753-1888.

[34] E. H. Roseboom, "Ohio in the Presidential Election of 1824," *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Publications,* XXVI (1917), 218.

[35] J. S. Bassett, *The Life of Andrew Jackson,* I, 359. Early in January Clay told Adams of his decision to support him. Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 465.

[36] *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 4, 1825.

[37] Willie P. Mangum to Jno. Robertson, Washington, Jan. 3, 1825, Mangum MSS. Nathan Sargent, *Public Men and Events from . . . 1817, to . . . 1853,* I, 67, states that Crawford had "probably as many friends" in North Carolina as Jackson.

[38] *Catawba Journal,* Jan. 11, Feb. 15, 1825; John W. Norwood to William Lenoir, Hillsborough, Nov. 12, 1824, General William Lenoir Papers, 1754-1929.

tempt was made to have public meetings instruct the congressmen to vote for Jackson, but the people did not respond.[39]

Soon after the popular election, Saunders believed that a majority of the delegation, influenced by the vote for the People's ticket, would go for Jackson;[40] but it soon was determined that at least nine of the thirteen congressmen would vote for Crawford. These agreed to "act with perfect harmony and *en masse*."[41] Vance and Conner from the West and Gatlin from the Albemarle Sound region would vote for Jackson, it was said; and Culpepper, a Federalist from Montgomery County, would vote for Adams.[42] Mangum perhaps expressed the attitude of the majority which had decided for Crawford: "It is my first wish to discharge conscientiously my duty to myself & my country in all public trusts—& the second wish of my heart would be to have my course approved by those whose interests are placed in my keeping."[43]

Since it was expected that several ballots in the House would be necessary and since Crawford had little chance of success, his supporters were concerned over determining the candidate of their second choice to whom they might shift, if it were deemed advisable. The North Carolina delegation had little difficulty in deciding this question. Despite their reported

[39] *The Star,* Dec. 24, 1824.

[40] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 10, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 446. Adams himself believed that Jackson would get the vote of North Carolina. Adams, *Memoirs,* VI, 476.

[41] Willie P. Mangum to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 25, 1824, *Sprunt Publications,* X, no. 2, 51-52. On January 7 Macon wrote to Charles Tait that Jackson seemed to have the best chance but that "the friends of Crawford will support him as long as it shall be deemed necessary." W. K. Boyd, "Letters of Nathaniel Macon to Judge Charles Tait," *An Annual Publication of Historical Papers,* Series VIII, 4; Shipp, *Life of Crawford,* 179. T. W. Cobb wrote on January 15 that "Delaware, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia have nailed their flag, and will sink with the ship." Shipp, *op. cit.,* 180.

[42] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 19, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.,* VIII (1931), 448.

[43] Willie P. Mangum to Jno. Robertson, Washington, Jan. 3, 1825, Mangum MSS. Williams was "assailed on the ground of an obligation to submit to the voice of the State,—But I repelled the argument in terms suitable to its absurdity." Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Petersburg, Nov. 30, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

preference of Adams to Jackson and Williams' statement in December that they had "no second choice,"[44] the North Carolina congressmen were not unaffected by the surprising development of Jackson strength in North Carolina, which swept the People's ticket to victory in November. Jackson was a native southerner; and, though from the West and an exponent of western interests and democracy, he was identified with the Southwest which was already bound to the South by ties of blood and a common interest in negro slavery as an economic and social institution. Moreover, cotton production and the westward movement were rapidly southernizing the Southwest. In addition, Jackson's constitutional views, though not all that could be desired, were nevertheless preferable to those of Adams and might be modified by his large southern support. The United States was an empire of sections, no one of which could control the policies of government. Faced by the necessity of compromise and cooperation, North Carolina and the South preferred an alliance with the West rather than the North as a means of safeguarding southern interests. Early in the campaign, Mangum preferred Jackson to Calhoun on constitutional grounds.[45] Saunders declared that "if the contest is reduced to Adams & Jackson the latter receives the vote of N. C. beyond a doubt."[46] Among many of the Crawford men in North Carolina, the same opinion was held. "The people whom I have heard speak on the subject would rather prefer him to Mr. Adams. . . . I fear That the subject of Slavery is long to be a bone of contention between the north & the South & it has been a matter of doubt with me whether Mr. Adams has not been one of the prime movers of the Missouri question. At least we have more to expect from the West than from the North on that subject."[47] It came to be understood that the delegation would follow its own wishes by

[44] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 6, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28.

[45] Willie P. Mangum to Seth Jones, Washington City, Feb. 11, 1824, Mangum MSS.

[46] R. M. Saunders to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 19, 1824, "Letters of Saunders to Yancy," *N. C. Hist. Rev.*, VIII (1931), 448.

[47] J. S. Smith to Willie P. Mangum, Hillsborough, Jan. 23, 1825, Mangum MSS.

supporting Crawford on the first ballot, and then the people's by shifting to Jackson if more than one ballot were taken.[48] The *Western Carolinian* professed great solicitude for the *"representative principle"* which is the "very key-stone of our republican institutions," if congressmen should first obey the edict of the caucus and later the people's.[49]

Contrary to expectation and amid great excitement, Adams was elected by the House, February 9, on the first ballot. North Carolina's vote was given to Crawford. The delegation voted ten for Crawford, two for Jackson, and one for Adams. Edwards, Gatlin, Hall, Hooks, Long, Mangum, Saunders, Spaight, Williams, and Outlaw[50] voted for Crawford; Conner and Vance, both representing western districts, for Jackson; and Culpepper, for Adams.[51] Gatlin of Chowan, who had been regarded as a Jackson man, was prevailed upon by the Crawford men to change.[52]

The news of Adams' election caused no general excitement in North Carolina. The Adams supporters rejoiced and celebrated the victory.[53] The Jackson men were disappointed but found consolation in the defeat of Crawford, the success of Calhoun in securing the vice-presidency, the worthiness of Adams, the redemption of North Carolina from the charge of Virginia influence, and the destruction of the caucus system.[54] To them, the popular election in which their cause triumphed appeared more important than the House election in which their candidate lost. In their opinion, Jackson and Adams did not differ widely on political and economic issues.

[48] Thos. Jefferson Green to William Polk, Washington, Dec. 30, 1824, Polk MSS; *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 25, 1825.

[49] *Western Carolinian,* Jan. 25, 1825.

[50] George Outlaw of Bertie took his seat in Congress on January 19, 1825, as successor to H. G. Burton, who was chosen governor by the legislature of 1824. "Mr. Outlaw stands pledged to vote for Mr. Crawford as President." *Raleigh Register,* Jan. 14, 1825.

[51] *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 25, 1825.

[52] "Write to your friends in Gatlin's district to support him. He behaved like a man, and we must do all we can for him." Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 11, 1825, Walter Clark MSS., I, 99.

[53] *Catawba Journal,* Mar. 1, 1825.

[54] *Western Carolinian,* Mar. 1, 1825.

To the Crawford men, defeated in the popular election and doubly defeated in the House election by the failure of their first and second choices, there was hardly a pleasing feature in the entire situation, except pride in the firm stand of the state delegation for Crawford. The *Register,* following the lead of the *National Intelligencer,* expressed a preference for Adams over Jackson;[55] but most of the Crawford partisans preferred Jackson. "The Presidential election is over— & we are all beaten," wrote Mangum.[56] Williams declared that "all is over and everything is lost but our honor. That stands better in the estimation of both friends and enemies than ever before." The Crawford friends hold the balance of power between the Adams and Jackson forces. They are "important and will command the fears if not the respect of any administration."[57] With similar needs and interests, a sufficient portion of the West entered into a political alliance with the North to secure control of the government and the triumph of the American System. But the administration and the alliance of North and West were endangered by a threatening Calhoun-Jackson-Crawford coalition and a political alliance of the Jacksonian West and the South.

After and even before the House election, the Crawford congressmen were concerned over the danger of their defeat for reelection.[58] "A dreadful storm awaits us in North Carolina," wrote Williams.[59] They were condemned as untrue rep-

[55] *Raleigh Register,* Feb. 15, 1825.

[56] Willie P. Mangum to Charity A. Mangum, Washington, Feb. 12, 1825, Mangum MSS.

[57] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 11, 1825, Walter Clark MSS, I, 99.

[58] John Chaves to Willie P. Mangum, Raleigh, Jan. 28, 1825, Mangum MSS; Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Feb. 11, 1825, Walter Clark MSS, I, 99.

[59] Lewis Williams to Bartlett Yancy, Washington, Dec. 6, 1824, Bartlett Yancy Papers, 1817-28. Opposition to Williams' reelection developed early. But he was reelected over Samuel King who attacked him for attending the congressional caucus and adding "insult to injury, by disregarding the voice of the state, expressed through the Electoral College." Samuel King, *To The Freemen composing the counties of Surry, Iredell, Wilkes, and Ashe.* Alfred M. Gatlin lost popularity in the Edenton district because he voted for Crawford and was defeated by Lemuel Sawyer. *Auto-biography of Lemuel Sawyer,* 27.

resentatives who should have resigned if unable conscientiously to carry out the will of their constituents.[60] "A Voter," who thought their action could find a parallel only "in the most corrupt elements of human society," desired to know "with what grace now can they ask these same people who they have tricked to give them their suffrages again?"[61] Spaight issued a circular in explanation of his vote for Crawford as one "whose principles of government and policy were more in unison with mine, whose interest was the same as mine and that of my constituents, and who was a Southern man, and the *owner of slaves*."[62] In the August, 1825, election, Spaight was defeated by John H. Bryan of New Bern, who was supported as the people's candidate, not only because he voted for the People's ticket, but because he favored the policy of internal improvements by the federal government.[63] Of the ten members who voted for Crawford, only five were re-elected to Congress.[64] Two of the five were from districts which had given the Crawford ticket a majority in the popular election; and the districts of the other three had gone for the People's ticket by close margins.

The election of 1824 was of marked significance in North Carolina. The successful revolt from Virginia leadership quickened public morale and state pride. The increased vote, the numerous and enthusiastic public meetings and addresses to the people, the rebuke of the representatives in Congress and the leaders chiefly from the Middle East who had controlled North Carolina politics for many years, and the destruction of old party machinery of which the caucus was the chief feature were indicative of a growing democracy and demand for greater popular control of government. Viewed broadly, it was a revolt of the western and sound sections of the State, which were economically backward and in need of a constructive governmental program, against the political dominance of the more highly developed and prosperous Middle East whose

[60] *Western Carolinian,* Mar. 1, 22, 1825.
[61] *Ibid.,* Apr. 12, 1825.
[62] John H. Bryan Papers, I, 107.
[63] *Ibid.,* I, 115.
[64] Weldon N. Edwards of Warren, John Long of Randolph, Willie P. Mangum of Orange, Romulus M. Saunders of Caswell, and Lewis Williams of Surry.

prosperity and interests made it a champion of governmental inactivity. Conflicting interests and opinions had produced a cleavage in the State and in the Republican party over economic and political aspects of national policy. The election of 1824 revealed Jackson as the choice of the West and extreme East, and the House election of 1825 indicated that in the Middle East he was preferable to the New Englander. In any future Adams-Jackson rivalry, the latter would have reasonable prospects of the support of a united North Carolina.

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Carolina Sentinel (New Bern), 1818-1825. L.C., D.U., H.C. A supporter of Calhoun until March, 1824. Then it opposed Crawford and supported the People's ticket, leaning toward Adams.

Catawba Journal (Charlotte), 1824-1825. L.C., U.N.C., H.C.

Established in the fall of 1824—too late to be of much influence for its favorite, Adams.

Elizabeth City Star, 1823-1824. L.C., H.C. A Calhoun organ, which after March, 1824, supported the People's ticket, seeming to lean toward Adams.

Free Press (Halifax), 1824. U.N.C.

Hillsborough Recorder, 1820-1825. L.C., U.N.C. Supported Adams.

Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser (Milton), 1824. L.C. A strong Crawford organ.

Niles' Weekly Register (Baltimore), 1820-1825.

Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette (Raleigh), 1815-1825. S.L., D.U. The leading Republican and Crawford organ in North Carolina. Joseph Gales, founder and editor, was the father and father-in-law of Joseph Gales, Jr., and William W. Seaton, respectively, publishers of the *National Intelligencer.*

The Cape Fear Recorder (Wilmington), 1816, 1817, 1820-1823. L.C., U.N.C. A supporter of Crawford.

The Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser, 1819, 1822, 1824. H.C., U.N.C.

The Raleigh Minerva, 1819-1821. S.L., U.N.C. Originally a Federalist organ.

The Star and North Carolina State Gazette (Raleigh), 1815-1816, 1819, 1820-1821, 1823-1824. L.C., S.L., D.U. An advocate of Calhoun. After March, 1824, it was a leading supporter of the People's ticket, but did not express its preference for Jackson or Adams.

Warrenton Reporter, 1824. L. C. A Crawford organ not established until just prior to the election.

Western Carolinian (Salisbury), 1820-1825. U.N.C., D.U., H.C., S.L. This newspaper, established in 1820, was the leading champion of western interests and the earliest and most vigorous Calhoun organ in the State. After March, 1824, it supported Jackson.

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INDEX

"A.B." letters, Ninian Edwards attacks Crawford in, 113.
Adams, John, Augusta address to, 110, 110n.
Adams, John Quincy, secretary of state, 49n, 126; characterizes Macon, 16n; presidential candidate, 43, 44; strength in N. C., 53, 55, 72, 77, 139, 141, 148-150, 158, 159; newspaper support of, 59, 143; friends courted by Calhoun forces, 60; friends oppose congressional caucus, 79, 80; relation to People's ticket, 84, 87-89, 97, 99, 101; praises Calhoun in 1819, 124; candidacy presented to N. C., 143, 144; separate Adams ticket demanded, 143, 147, 149-151; little public opposition to, 145, 146; prospects unsatisfactory, 146, 147, 151, 153; Jackson and Crawford forces bid for Adams vote, 153, 154; majority of friends support People's ticket, 158, 159; second in electoral votes, 166; unacceptable to Crawford leaders, 168-170; elected president by the House, 170.
Alamance, battle of, 4.
Albemarle inlet, federal government interested in, 16, 17-21; state government interested in, 17, 17n; Jackson presumed to favor, 133.
Alien and Sedition acts, 110n.
Allen, Vine, Jackson elector on People's ticket, 100, 151.
Alston, Willis, favors Fisher resolutions, 67n.
American Recorder, supports Adams, 59; favors separate Adams ticket, 143; hostile to Jackson, 150.
American Revolution, Jackson and the, 130.
Anti-slavery movement, Macon fears, 15, 15n.
Army, reduction of favored by Crawford and his N. C. leaders, 34, 115; Calhoun friendly to, 124, 127.
Asheville, political dinner in, 21.
Avon, defeated by *Wasp,* 2n.

Ballard, Kedar, signs Jackson broadside, 111n; announces as elector on separate Jackson ticket, 152, 153.
Banks, *See* State banks; United States Bank.
Beall resolution, attacks general ticket system, 65; John Stanly supports, 65, 66; postponed, 70, 71; supported by Calhoun friends, 71.
Benton, Jesse, anti-Jackson pamphlet circulated in N. C., 135.
Blackledge, Thomas W., opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n, 68n; Crawford elector, 74n.
Blackledge, William, Sr., Crawford elector, 74n.
Blackledge, William S., Calhoun elector on People's ticket; 86n; dislikes Calhoun-Jackson agreement, 89n; withdraws from People's ticket, 100; replaced by Vine Allen, 100, 150, 151.
Blakeley, Johnston, commander of *Wasp,* 2, 2n.
Blakeley, Udney Maria, ward of the State, 2n.
Blount, William A., Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 84; hostile to Jackson and Crawford, 99, 100; issues circular for People's ticket, 118n, 149; asks voters to write Adams or Jackson on People's ticket ballots, 149; does not pledge to Jackson, 153.

Branch, John, governor, 19, 24; urges progressive legislation, 3, 11n; and Albemarle inlet, 17n, 20; leads attack on state banks, 27-30; opposes tariff, 35; thought to favor Crawford, 49n, 50n; U. S. senator, 20, 80; favors Jackson, 80, 138n; does not attend congressional caucus, 80, 82n; favors separate Jackson ticket, 94.

Brittain, Mark, announces as elector on separate Jackson ticket, 153.

Brown, Bedford, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n.

Bryan, Joseph H., for Jackson, 94.

Burges, A. S. H., for Jackson, 107n, 138.

Burns, Otway, commander of *Snap Dragon*, 2, 2n.

Burton, Hutchins G., congressman, speaks against tariff, 35; favors Macon for vice-president, 53n; signs invitation to and attends congressional caucus, 80, 82n; negotiates with Adams for Crawford, 102, 107n; prefers Adams to Jackson or Calhoun, 144; elected governor in 1824, 167.

Bynum, Jesse, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67, 67n, 70; opposes printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76.

Calhoun, John C., congressman, favors U. S. Bank and Bonus Bill, 13, 14; secretary of war, 18, 47, 85; favors inland waterway and national road, 18-20, 37; favors tariff, 21; visits eastern N. C., 18, 52, 124; interested in Albemarle inlet, 18, 19, 124; presidential candidate, 43, 44; early activity of Charles Fisher and *Western Carolinian* for, 48-53; promotes his campaign in N. C., 50-53; chief opponent of Crawford in N. C., 53, 59; interested in election of 1823, 55; popular in West and sound region, 55; newspaper support of, 59, 59n; friends court Adams men, 60; friends attack caucus and general ticket systems, 63-72; strength in General Assembly of 1823, 72, 77, 78; friends plan anti-Crawford ticket, 60, 78; friends oppose congressional caucus, 79, 80; leaders begin formation of People's ticket, 83-90; rivalry with Jackson, 85, 87, 90-96; eliminated by Pennsylvania, 96, 129; nominated for vice-presidency, 96, 99, 99n; friends shift mainly to Jackson, 97, 101; troubled with congressional investigations, 112; his friends attack Crawford, 107-118; qualifications presented to N. C., 123-126; confident of victory in N. C., 126, 128; attacks of the Crawford forces on, 60, 126-128; pleased at the election in N. C., 158; N. C. supports for vice-presidency, 165; elected vice-president, 170.

Camden, market for western N. C., 7.

Cameron, John A., president of N. C. branch of U. S. Bank, 25, 25n.

Canals, Dismal Swamp, 7, 11n, 13, 17; Murphey's program includes, 9; Neuse River to Beaufort project, 13.

Carolina Observer, opposes Crawford, 51; supports Adams, 59, 143; denounces N. C. subservience to Virginia, 51, 117; first suggests writing name of favorite candidate on ballot, 149n; urges vote for People's ticket and Adams, 151.

Carolina Sentinel, opposes Crawford, 56; supports Calhoun, 59; less active for People's ticket after Calhoun's elimination, 100; urges voters to write Adams or

Jackson on People's ticket ballots, 148-149.
Catawba Journal, attacks Crawford's radical support, 115; favors internal improvements, 133; prefers Adams but supports People's ticket, 133, 143, 154.
Caucus. *See* Congressional caucus; Legislative caucus.
Charleston, market for western N. C., 7.
Cherokee lands, relief for purchasers of, 30; Calhoun helped N. C. secure, 126.
Clark, James W., signs Crawford address, 121n.
Clark, John, Georgia enemy of Crawford, 112; publishes pamphlet attacking Crawford, 113n.
Clay, Henry, speaker of House of Representatives, presidential candidate, 43, 44; friends oppose congressional caucus, 79, 80; Mangum opposes, 127; little support in N. C., 99, 143; surprised at result in N. C., 158n; declines to support Crawford in House election, 166; supports Adams, 166, 167.
Coastal Plain. *See* Eastern North Carolina; Sound region; Middle East.
Coleman, Dr. L. H., corresponds with Jackson about the tariff, 131, 131n, 132n.
Coles, James C., signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Columbia, market for western N. C., 7.
Commerce, small, 4; through out-of-state markets, 6-8, 66; the Murphey program, 9, 116; needs of various sections, 12, 13; induces political subservience to Virginia, 116-118; movement for commercial independence, 116, 117. *See* Internal improvements; Transportation.
Concord, anti-Crawford public meeting in, 95n; public meeting demands separate Adams ticket, 150.
Congress, second U. S. Bank chartered, 13; issue of internal improvements in, 14; directs survey of part of N. C. coast, 16, 18; N. C. asks for federal aid, 17n, 19, 20n; Calhoun recommends inland waterway and national road to, 18, 20, 124; tariff of 1816, 21; Missouri Compromise in, 22-24; tariff of 1824, 35; General Survey Bill of 1824, 37; electoral amendment in, 39, 40; Crawford popular in, 45, 82; and the congressional caucus, 41, 63, 79-82; investigates Treasury department, 112-114; the House election of 1825, 166-170.
Congressional caucus, nominates presidential candidates, 40, 41, 54n; some N. C. opposition to, 41, 42, 63; attacked by Crawford opponents, 63, 64, 66-72, 79, 80; Crawford's friends plan caucus in 1824, 79-81; Grundy resolutions against in Tennessee, 79, 79n; caucus nominates Crawford and Gallatin, 81, 82; an issue in the campaign, 108, 109, 131; election of 1824 destroys, 170, 172.
Conner, Henry W., congressman, attacks the tariff, 37; does not attend congressional caucus, 82n; votes for Jackson in House election, 170.
Constitutional reform, important issue after 1815, 4; demanded by the West, 5; relation to sectional economic interests, 10n; growing demand for after 1819, 34; western convention of 1823, 34, 65; sidetracked by election of 1824, 34.
Cotton, spread to the Piedmont, 6, 7, 160n; staple of the Middle East, 7, 160n; spread to southwestern states, 169.

Covington, Benjamin H., Crawford elector, 74n; unpopular, 109n.

Crawford, William H., secretary of the treasury, presidential candidate, 43, 44; candidate of N. C. political leaders, 45, 59, 60; candidacy quietly promoted by eastern leaders, 45, 46, 54, 55; opponents exploit Virginia nativity of, 50; supporters active in election of 1823, 54, 55; strong in Middle East, 55; victory in state election of 1823, 56-58; friends repulse legislative attacks on caucus and general ticket systems, 63-72; western convention of 1823 hostile to, 65; strength in General Assembly of 1823, 72, 76-78; legislative caucus nominates Crawford ticket, 73, 74, 74n; committee of correspondence chosen, 74; friends elated at end of legislative session, 78; nominated by congressional caucus, 79-82; friends bestirred by formation of People's ticket, 97; considered for vice-presidency, 102; qualifications presented to N. C., 102-106; handicaps to, 106, 107; illness of, 107; the opposition attacks, 107-118, 126; work of the Crawford committee of correspondence, 118, 119, 121, 122, 137; five public meetings for, 119, 120; N. C. congressman active for, 119-121; public address in behalf of, 119, 121, 137; his friends attack Calhoun, 126-128; his friends attack Jackson, 133-138; friends strive to split Adams and Jackson men, 147, 153n; bids for Adams vote, 153, 154; defeated in N. C., 155-157, 165; areas of strength, 161-164; third in electoral votes, 166; considers giving a grand ball, 166n; N. C. delegation votes for in House election, 167-170; defeated in House election, 170.

Crawford ticket. *See* Crawford, William H.

Creeks, treaty of Indian Springs, 85.

Croom, Isaac, favors Fisher resolutions, 67n.

Crowell, John, active for Calhoun, 48.

Crudup, Josiah, Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 85.

Culpepper, John, declines to take a stand on the presidency in 1823, 57n; does not attend congressional caucus, 82n; votes for Adams in House election, 170.

Currency, U. S. Bank notes, 25; state bank notes, 26; power of state banks over, 27, 29; scarcity of after 1819, 27; issue of treasury notes, 30. *See* State banks; United States Bank.

Dallas, George M., Calhoun leader in Pennsylvania, 96; denounced for shift to Jackson, 96n.

Daniel, Joseph J., signs Crawford address, 121n.

Davidson, William, defeated for Congress, 37.

Devereux, John, for Calhoun, 52n.

Dickerson, Mahlon, U. S. senator from New Jersey, against Calhoun, 119n.

Dickins, Asbury, partisan employee of Crawford, 165; seeks votes for Crawford from the People's ticket electors, 165, 165n.

Dismal Swamp Canal, 7, 11n, 13, 17.

Dobson, William P., signs Jackson broadside, 111n.

Drew, William, for Adams in 1823, 95n; for Jackson, 94; Jackson elector on People's ticket, 95, 98, 99n; pledges to vote for Jackson, 153.

Dudley, Christopher, signs Jackson broadside, 111n.

Dudley, E. B., Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 86n; friendly to Jackson, 87n; pledges to vote for Jackson, 153.

Eastern North Carolina, water transportation facilities, 4, 6; dominates N. C. politics, 4, 5; economic regime in, 7, 8; attitude on state internal improvements, 12n, 13; extent of, 12n; opposition to federal internal improvements, 14-17; opposes Missouri Compromise, 23; sectional conflicts, 4, 5, 42, 66; more population but fewer voters than the West, 164, 164n. *See* Middle East; Sound region.

Eaton, J. H., U. S. senator, 112.

Economic conditions, prosperity after 1815, 1; cause of emigration, 5; in various sections of N. C., 6-8; Murphey's plan, 9; panic of 1819, 24, 24n; anti-bank movement, 25-33; influence on election of 1824, 160-164, 169, 172, 173. *See* Banks; Commerce; Eastern North Carolina; Transportation; Western North Carolina.

Edenton, favors state internal improvements, 12n; visited by Monroe and Calhoun, 18.

Edenton Gazette, claimed as Calhoun organ, 59n; urges that People's ticket pledge to Jackson, 153.

Education, backward conditions, 5; Murphey's program of, 9.

Edwards, Ninian, Calhoun leader in Illinois, 51; author of "A.B." letters and an address attacking Crawford, 113, 114.

Edwards, Weldon N., congressman, attends congressional caucus, 82n; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; reelected, 172n.

Election of 1816, N. C. vote in, 41, 45, 155.

Election of 1820, N. C. vote in, 41, 155, 155n, 156.

Election of 1823, presidential politics and the, 56-59.

Election of August, 1824, relation to the presidential contest, 139-141.

Election of 1824, early presidential campaign, 45-61; Crawford ticket nominated, 73, 74; People's ticket formed, 83-101; the Crawford campaign, 102-122; the Calhoun campaign, 123-129; the Jackson campaign, 130-142; the Adams men, 143-154; People's ticket pledged to Jackson, 153; size and distribution of vote in, 155-157; victory of People's ticket, 157; majority of Adams men vote for People's ticket, 158, 159; sectional aspects of the election, 160-164; issues as well as personalities important in, 164, 165; N. C. electors vote for Jackson, 165; electors fail to elect president, 166; prospects of election by House of Representatives, 166-168; N. C. congressional delegation supports Crawford, 167-170; N. C. delegation prefers Jackson to Adams, 168-170; Adams elected on first ballot, 170; the Crawford congressmen fight for reelection, 171, 172, 172n; significance of, 172, 173.

Electoral system, opposition to general ticket system, 38-40, 63-66, 70, 71.

Elizabeth City Star, supports Calhoun, 59, 124; for internal improvements, 132, 133; for People's ticket, 133; prefers Adams to Jackson, 133, 143.

Emigration, heavy from N. C., 3, 5.

Fayetteville, trading center, 6, 8, 13, 51; favors state internal improvements, 12n; branch of U.

S. Bank in, 25; trade meeting held in, 116.
Federalist party, strict construction policies, 1; weak in N. C., 2; opposes U. S. Bank, 13; attitude on federal internal improvements, 14; opposed to general ticket system, 39, 40, 65, 66; leaders criticise congressional caucus, 67; opposes the right of instruction, 68, 68n, 71; Crawford leaders brand opposition as Federalist, 70, 103, 127, 128; Crawford charged with Federalism, 109, 110n, 111n, 128; Adams' early connection with injurious, 144, 145, 145n; Adams popular in areas with Federalist tendencies, 149; aids People's ticket, 161.
Fisher, Charles, manager of Calhoun campaign in N. C., 47; public career, 47, 48; early activity for Calhoun, 48, 49, 51; helps establish *Western Carolinian*, 49, 49n; corresponds with Calhoun, 52, 53; elected to legislature of 1823, 55; author of Fisher resolutions, 66-72; opposes repeal of state general ticket law, 68n, 71; seeks to unite Calhoun-Jackson-Adams friends, 73; directs formation of People's ticket, 78, 83-90, 128; agreement with Jackson leaders, 88-95; signs Jackson broadside, 111n; denounces subservience to Virginia, 117, 126; active for national road, 133n; encourages public meetings for People's ticket and Jackson, 139.
Fisher resolutions, attack congressional caucus and electoral system, 66-67; discussion of, 67-70; postponed, 70; supported by Calhoun forces, 70, 71; debate excites public opinion against Crawford, 68, 78, 108.
Florida, acquisition of aids Adams and Jackson, 44; Jackson's invasion of, 130.
Forney, Daniel M., state senator, for Calhoun, 85; Indian commissioner, 85; for Jackson and the tariff, 132n.
Forney, Peter, Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 85, 86n; friendly to Jackson and Adams, 87n, 136n; pledges to vote for Jackson, 153.
Forsythe, Benjamin, officer in War of 1812, 2, 2n.
Forsythe, James, state contribution to, 2n.
Franklin, Jesse, governor, conservative in finance, 30.
Franklin, Meshack, Crawford elector, 74n.
Free Press, claimed as Calhoun organ, 59n.
Fulton, Hamilton, state engineer, 17n, 19, 33.

Gallatin, Albert, nominated by congressional caucus for vice-presidency, 80, 82; unpopular with Crawford leaders in N. C., 106, 106n; withdrawal, 107; attacked as "foreign candidate," 118.
Gaston, William, for Calhoun, 52n; former Federalist, 145n.
Gatlin, Alfred M., elected to Congress, 58n; attends congressional caucus, 81, 82n; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; defeated for reelection, 170n, 171n.
General Assembly, votes on state internal improvements, 12n; urges federal internal improvements in N. C., 18, 19; requests branch of U. S. Bank for N. C., 25; taxes branch of U. S. Bank, 25; majority conservative in anti-bank and creditor-debtor conflicts, 29, 30; resolves against tariff increase, 35; 1823 election of, 54-56; of 1823, presidential politics in, 62-78; 1824 election of, 139-141.
General Survey Bill, passed, 37; N. C. congressmen against, 37, 137; Jackson voted for, 132;

popular in Piedmont and sound region, 133.
Georgia, N. C. trade with, 6, 66.
Giles, John, Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 86, 86n; agrees to vote for Jackson, 99; active for national road, 133n.
Graham, James, signs Crawford address, 121n.
Gray, Alexander, Crawford elector, 74n.
Green, Thomas J., 89n; favors Macon for vice-presidency, 99n; carries N. C. electoral vote to Washington, 165.
Greensboro, Adams public meeting in, 159n.
Grundy, Felix, author of Tennessee anti-caucus resolutions, 67n, 75.

Halifax, favors state internal improvements, 12n.
Hall, John, Crawford elector, 74n; elector in 1820, 155n.
Hall, Thomas H., congressman, attends congressional caucus, 82n; presents Crawford as the southern candidate, 104; issues circular for Crawford, 104, 120; votes for Crawford in House election, 170.
Harrisburg Convention, nominates Jackson for president and Calhoun for vice-president, 96, 96n.
Hawfields, Jackson public meeting in, 98.
Hawkins, Joseph W., for Calhoun, 86n; signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Haywood, projected town, 3n; land speculation in, 3n.
Haywood, John, public treasurer, attempts to collect tax on U. S. Bank, 25, 25n.
Haywood, William H., Jr., supports Jackson, 77, 138; signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Helme, Robert, favors Fisher resolutions, 67n; favors printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76.
Hill, Joseph, favors Fisher resolutions, 67n
Hillsborough, favors state internal improvements, 12n; Jackson public meeting in, 98, 99.
Hillsborough Recorder, supports Adams, 59, 95n, 143; deplores sectional appeals, 145; favors separate Adams ticket, 147.
Holmes, Gabriel, governor, interested in Albemarle inlet, 17n; conservative in finance, 30; anti-caucus message to General Assembly of 1823, 75, 76; shifts from Adams to Calhoun, 76n; opposes Crawford ticket, 110n; notifies victorious electors, 165.
Holy Alliance, menace of, 44, 105, 126, 131.
Hooks, Charles, congressman, attends congressional caucus, 82n; votes for Crawford in House election, 170.

Indian Springs treaty, with Creeks, 85.
Inland waterway, Macon favors, 16; Calhoun advocates, 18-20, 37, 124; Jackson presumed to favor, 133.
Internal improvements (federal), attitude of N. C. toward, 14-22, 37; inland waterway, 16, 18-20, 37, 124, 133; Albemarle inlet, 16-21, 124, 133; national road, 20, 37, 124, 133, 133n; Calhoun favors, 18-20, 43, 44, 124, 125; N. C. opposes General Survey Bill, 37; Crawford leaders hostile to, 116, 172; Jackson in favor of, 132, 133; Adams in favor of, 145n.
Internal improvements (state), need of, 3, 4; Murphey program of, 9, 10; sectional division on, 10-13; Albemarle inlet, 17, 17n; and the anti-bank movement, 32; growing opposition to after 1819, 33, 34.

Iredell, James, 17n; attacks congressional caucus, 67, 67n, 71; author of Iredell resolution, 71; favors printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76.
Iredell resolution, attacks congressional caucus, 71.

Jackson, Andrew, U. S. senator, 43; presidential candidate, 43, 53, 90; aided by events, 44; early mention in N. C., 53, 55, 59, 90; strength in General Assembly of 1823, 72, 92; friends oppose congressional caucus, 79, 80; representation on People's ticket, 84, 87; sentiment for separate Jackson ticket, 85, 87, 90, 94, 95; friends force agreement with Calhoun leaders, 88-90, 94, 95; Polk and Murphey direct popular movement for, 90-94; nominated for president by Pennsylvania, 96; friends take charge of People's ticket, 97-100, 129; gets most of the Calhoun support, 99-101; his friends attack Crawford, 107-118, 142; qualifications presented to N. C., 130-133; Coleman correspondence, 131, 132; Crawford forces attack, 133-137; ineffectual attacks on, 137, 138; public meetings and test votes for, 138-140; public enthusiasm for, 140, 141; Jackson broadside, 111n, 142; movement for separate Adams ticket, 143, 147, 149-151; movement for separate Jackson ticket, 151-153; People's ticket pledges to, 153; friends appeal for Adams vote, 147, 154; victory of People's ticket, 155-157; size and distribution of vote, 155-157; supported by majority of Adams men, 158, 159; carries the West and sound region, 160-164; N. C. electors vote for, 165; first in electoral votes, 166; N. C. delegation prefers Jackson to Adams, 168-170; defeated in the House election, 170.
Jackson, Mrs. Andrew, criticised, 135.
Jefferson, Thomas, caucus nominee, 102; Crawford against his embargo policy, 110; his public course similar to Calhoun's, 124n.
Johnson, Charles E., Crawford elector, 74n.
Jones, Calvin, for Jackson, 87n, 88n, 138.
Jones, Hamilton, for Calhoun, 52n.
Jones, Nathaniel, Crawford elector, 74n.

King, B. S., declines to publish separate Adams ticket, 150.
King, Rufus, 52n.
King, Samuel, defeated for Congress, 171n.
King, Thomas D., for People's ticket, 110n.
King, William R., congressman, 16; for People's ticket, 110n.

Land, valuation of declines after 1819, 25n.
Leake, Walter F., Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 86n; does not pledge to Jackson, 153.
Legislative caucus, nominates presidential electors, 40, 40n; some N. C. opposition to, 42; expected to choose Crawford electors, 60, 61, 63, 64, 73; nominates Crawford ticket, 73, 74; dispute over attendance at, 76, 77; an issue in the campaign, 108, 109, 131.
Legrand, James, Crawford elector, 74n; Federalist, 109n, 110n.
Lenoir, Gen. William, accuses Calhoun of Federalism, 128; opposes Adams, 146.
Leonard, Jacob W., opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n.
Lewis, W. B., Jackson leader in Tennessee, begins Jackson campaign in N. C., 90, 91.

Lincolnton, trades with Charleston, 7; political meeting in, 85.
Lockhart, W. B., Jackson elector on People's ticket, 99n.
Long, John, attends congressional caucus, 82n; presents Crawford as opponent of tariff and internal improvements, 104; advises public meetings for Crawford, 119; issues circular, 120, 131n, 132n; opposes Jackson and internal improvements, 136, 137; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; reelected, 172n.
Lord, William, announces as elector on separate Jackson ticket, 153.
Love, Robert, for Jackson, 87n; Jackson elector on People's ticket, 99n; elector in 1820, 155n.
Love, Thomas, for Jackson, 87n; signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Lynchburg, market for N. C. trade, 8.

Macon, Nathaniel, U. S. senator, opposes U. S. Bank and federal internal improvements outside N. C., 14-17; Adams' characterization of, 16n; obtains federal survey of N. C. coast, 18; opposes tariff, 21, 35; opposes Missouri Compromise, 22-24; works for federal amendment establishing district system, 40; opposes congressional caucus, 41, 77, 80, 81, 81n; believes Republican party disintegrating, 42n; early activity for Crawford, 45, 46, 54; mentioned for presidency and vice-presidency, 53, 53n; refuses to attend congressional caucus, 80, 81, 81n; thinks Calhoun has withdrawn, 94; active for Crawford, 119; ideas on the House election, 168n.
Madison, James, president, 103; and internal improvements, 15; caucus nominee, 102; ridiculed by Crawford, 110, 110n; his course similar to Calhoun's, 124n.
Mangum, Willie P., congressman, favors Crawford, 81; refuses to attend congressional caucus, 81, 82n; hostile to nationalism of Calhoun and Clay, 127; thinks Calhoun can carry only S. C. and N. J., 128n; against the tariff, 136; seeks Clay's support for Crawford in House election, 166; ideas on the House election, 166-168; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; reelected, 172n.
Martin, Robert, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n.
Martin, William, Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 86n; accepts Calhoun-Jackson-Adams agreement, 89n; agrees to vote for Jackson, 100; favorable to Adams, 151, 152; does not pledge to Jackson, 153.
McAuley, John, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n.
McCulloch *vs.* Maryland, N. C. tries to disregard, 25, 25n.
McDuffie, George, S. C. Calhoun leader, 52n, 53.
McKinney, Thomas L., Calhoun editor, 48n, 49.
McNeill, Archibald, declines to take a stand on the presidency in 1823, 57n.
Mebane, James, favors Fisher resolutions, 67n; favors printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76; Calhoun elector on People's ticket, 85; friendly to Adams, 87n, 99; agrees to vote for Jackson or Adams, 99.
Michaux, F. A., travels in N. C., 7.
Middle East, water transportation facilities of, 6; economic regime in, 7, 8, 160n; attitude on internal improvements, 13-17; attitude on banks and finance, 33; differs from West and sound region, 5-8, 42, 160-164, 172, 173;

strong for Crawford, 55, 118, 156, 161-164; trades with Virginia, 118; prefers Jackson to Adams, 168-170; significance of election to, 172, 173.
Militia musters, used for political purposes, 120, 121, 138-140.
Miller, William, governor, 3n, 17n.
Milton, new town, 3n; land speculation in, 3n.
Milton Gazette and Roanoke Advertiser, Crawford organ, 46, 50, 59, 75; criticizes Governor Holmes, 76n; denounced as a "semi-Virginia" paper, 118; denounces the tariff, 135.
Missouri Compromise, attitude of N. C., 22-24; strengthens Adams and Crawford, 44.
Mitchell, D. B., agent to Creek Indians, 113.
Monroe, James, president, his administration an era of good feelings, 1, 49, 49n, 85, 102; and internal improvements, 15; Crawford contested nomination of in 1816, 104, 111; Crawford accused of unfaithfulness to, 110; Jackson's correspondence with, 135.
Monroe Doctrine, 105.
Moore, Alfred, speaker of House of Commons, 62.
Morehead, J. M., Jackson elector on People's ticket, 99n.
Morganton, trades with Charleston, 7.
Mountain region, poor transportation facilities, 4, 6; economic regime in, 6. *See* Western North Carolina.
Mumford, George, congressman, favors internal improvements, 14.
Murfree, William H., congressman, favors inland waterway, 16.
Murphey, Archibald D., progressive program of, 9, 11n, 116; thinks Calhoun can carry only S. C., 88; regrets Jackson agreement with Calhoun leaders, 89; early advocate of separate Jackson ticket, 90; Polk's co-laborer in Jackson movement, 91-100; and Jackson public meetings, 98, 139; favors DeWitt Clinton for vice-presidency, 99n; signs Jackson broadside, 111n; desires N. C. to break away from Virginia leadership, 117, 118.
National Intelligencer, influence for Crawford in N. C., 79, 80, 118, 123; prefers Adams to Jackson in House election, 123.
National road, proposed, 20, 37, 124, 133, 133n.
Nationalism, strong after 1815, 1, 13; declines after panic of 1819, 34, 42-44; Clay friendly to, 43, 127; Calhoun friendly to, 43, 123, 124, 127, 128; Crawford shifting from, 43, 44, 115; Jackson regarded as friendly to, 133; Adams friendly to, 145n, 169, 171.
Navy, Crawford reputed to favor reduction of, 115, 126; Calhoun friendly to, 124, 126.
New Bern, 2n, 52n; market town, 8; favors state internal improvements, 12n; visited by Monroe and Calhoun, 18; state bank at, 26; Jackson public meeting in, 100, 151; test vote on presidency at, 140n; votes for People's ticket, 159.
New Orleans, Jackson's victory at, 130.
Newspapers, *Raleigh Register,* chief Crawford organ, 46, 54-56; *Western Carolinian,* chief Calhoun organ, 47-55; alignment in campaign of 1824, 59, 59n, 143.
Norcom, James, helps Gatlin defeat Sawyer for Congress, 58n.
Norfolk, N. C. trade at, 7, 8, 17.
North Carolina, political characteristics before 1815, 1, 1n; political harmony after 1815, 2; problems after 1815, 3-5; physiographic features of, 6; eco-

nomic regimes in, 6-8; sectional attitudes on state internal improvements, 10-13; attitude toward U. S. Bank, 13, 14; attitude toward federal internal improvements, 14-21, 37; attitude toward tariff, 21, 22, 35-37; attitude toward Missouri Compromise, 22-24; declining nationalism of, 34, 42-44; sectionalism of East against West, 4, 5-8, 42, 66; sectionalism of West and sound region against Middle East, 4, 5-8, 42, 160-164, 172, 173; subservience to Virginia, 50, 116-118, 125, 126; vote in election of 1824, 156n, 163, 170; distribution of slaves in 1820, 162; allies with Jacksonian West, 169.

Ocracoke, depth of inlet, 4n; commercial importance, 7, 8, 17.

Outlaw, George, votes for Crawford in House election, 170, 170n.

Outlaw, George, Sr., Crawford elector, 74n.

Owen, John, Crawford elector, 74n; fearful of Crawford's prospects, 109n, 110n, 137.

Panic of 1819, severe in N. C., 24, 24n; affects popular attitude toward public questions, 11n, 12n, 24, 26-34, 34-43; injures Crawford's candidacy, 44, 111; aids the People's ticket, 128, 161.

Paxton, John, Crawford elector, 74n.

Peace, brings happiness, 1; Crawford presented as the friend of, 105, 106.

Pennsylvania, nominates Jackson for president and Calhoun for vice-president, 96, 128.

People's ticket, Calhoun leaders plan opposition ticket, 60, 78, 83; difficulty of uniting the Calhoun-Jackson-Adams friends, 60, 73, 78, 87; Calhoun leaders begin forming opposition ticket, 83, 90; strong movement for Jackson, 85, 87, 90-96; Pennsylvania eliminates Calhoun, 96; Jackson leaders complete the ticket, 97-100; pledged to support strongest anti-Crawford candidate, 101; attacks Crawford ticket, 107-118; presents Calhoun's claims for presidency, 123-126; presents Jackson's claims for presidency, 130-133; strategy of Jackson public meetings and test votes, 138-140; public enthusiasm, 140, 141; Jackson broadside, 142; movement for separate Adams and Jackson tickets, 143, 147, 149-153; pledges to Jackson, 153; appeals for the Adams vote, 147, 154; victory of, 155-157; majority of Adams men support, 158, 159; carries West and sound region, 160-164; electors vote for Jackson, 165; significance of victory, 172, 173. *See* Calhoun, John C.; Jackson, Andrew.

Petersburg, market for N. C. trade, 8; merchants dislike N. C. bank notes, 116.

Phillips, Abraham, Crawford elector, 74 n.

Pickens, Israel, introduces federal amendment to establish district system, 39, 40.

Pickering, Timothy, Federalist, supports Crawford, 109.

Piedmont, poor transportation facilities of, 4, 6; economic regime in, 6, 7; interested in national road, 133n. *See* Western North Carolina.

Plantation system, in the Middle East, 7, 8; interests identified with Crawford, 14-16, 104, 105, 135, 136.

Plymouth, visited by Monroe and Calhoun, 18.

Polk, Thomas G., for Calhoun, 88n; testifies to Jackson's popularity, 93n; signs Jackson broadside, 111n.

Polk, William, estimates candidates' strength in General Assembly of 1823, 72, 77; chief Jackson leader in N. C., 87, 88n, 89, 91; agreement with Calhoun leaders, 88-95; regrets the agreement, 89; visits W. B. Lewis in Tennessee, 91; directs the Jackson movement, 91-95; directs completion of People's ticket, 97-100; arranges Jackson public meeting in Raleigh, 98, 138; encourages Jackson meetings, 138, 139.

Population, slow growth of, 5; density of various sections, 6-8; in 1820, 9n.

Potter, Henry, U. S. district court judge, active for Calhoun, 86, 89.

Prosperity, after 1815, 1, 3, 9; ended by panic of 1819, 24, 24n; Crawford presented as guarantor of, 105, 106.

Public meetings, western convention at Raleigh in 1823, 34, 65; for People's ticket, 84, 84n, 85, 86, 86n, 94, 95, 95n, 98-100, 138, 139, 151, 152; for trade, 116; for Crawford, 119-121; for national road, 133n; for Adams, 150, 159n; significance of, 172.

Quakers, Adams men appeal to, 144; Quaker counties vote for Crawford, 159, 161, 163.

Radical party, champions Crawford, state rights and economy, 49, 115.

Rainey, James, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n.

Raleigh, growth, 3n; state bank in, 26; western convention of 1823 in, 34, 65; Jackson public meeting in, 98, 138; trade meeting in, 116; petition from for national road, 133n; electors meet and vote for Jackson, 165.

Raleigh Register and North Carolina Gazette, chief Crawford organ, 46, 54-56, 59; elected public printer, 62; publishes debate on the Fisher resolutions, 67n; friendly to caucus and general ticket system, 73, 79; surprised at small size of congressional caucus, 82; strong influence for Crawford ticket, 103, 119, 119n, 123, 139, 140, 157; reelected public printer, 167; prefers Adams to Jackson in House election, 171.

Regulator movement, violent climax of East-West sectionalism, 4.

Reindeer, defeated by *Wasp,* 2n.

Representation, county system favors the East, 5; the "representative principle" endangered, 170.

Republican party, dominant and nationalistic after 1815, 1; strong in N. C., 2, 3; N. C. not in harmony with the national party, 13-17, 21, 22; adopts general ticket system, 39; uses caucus, 40, 41; controlled by eastern N. C. leaders, 42; factional differences over state and federal issues, 42; Crawford the regular nominee of, 103.

Rice, staple of lower Cape Fear, 7, 160n; area carried by Crawford, 161-164.

Richmond, market for N. C. trade, 8.

Richmond Enquirer, Crawford organ, 83n, 123, 134n.

Roane, William, opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n; opposes printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76.

Roanoke Inlet Company, chartered, 17n, 19.

Robinson, Benjamin, signs Jackson broadside, 111n.

Ruffin, Thomas, for Crawford, 46, 117; Crawford elector, 74n; denies N. C. subservience to Virginia, 118n.
Ruffin, William, secretary of Crawford correspondence committee, 119; signs Crawford address, 121n.
Rutherfordton, celebration of July 4 in, 21.

Salisbury, favors state internal improvements, 12n; center of Calhoun influence, 47, 51, 52n, 71; Calhoun public meeting in, 86, 86n; public meeting for national road, 133n.
Saunders, Romulus M., congressman, active for Crawford, 46, 74, 77, 94, 119; attends congressional caucus, 82n; issues circular and takes the stump for Crawford, 120; sends Raleigh petition for national road to president, 133n; votes against General Survey Bill, 137; seeks Clay's support for Crawford in House election, 166; ideas on the House election, 168; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; reelected, 172n.
Sawyer, Lemuel, congressman, 49n; defeated by Gatlin, 58n; defeats Gatlin, 171n.
Scurlock, Jos., signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Searcy, Thomas, signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Seawell, Henry, 109n; declines nomination as Crawford elector, 74n.
Sectionalism, geographic and economic basis of, 6-8; over state internal improvements, 10-13; over federal internal improvements, 14-22; over state and federal issues, 42; East against West, 4, 42, 66; West and sound region against Middle East, 42, 160-164, 172, 173; relation to presidential candidates, 43; Crawford the southern candidate, 104, 105; Calhoun men decry, 125; injures Adams, 145, 145n, 146; and the election of 1824, 160-164, 169, 171-173.
Settle, Thomas, for Calhoun, 86n, 88n.
Shepperd, Augustine H., favors Fisher resolutions, 67n; Jackson elector on People's ticket, 99n; reports Jackson men hostile to unpledged People's ticket, 152; suggests pledge to Jackson, 152.
Slavery, Macon fears for safety of, 15, 15n; Macon defends, 22; influence on election of 1824, 24, 169; Crawford presented as friend of, 104, 105; Adams presented as enemy of, 145, 146; Crawford carries most of heavy slave counties, 161-164; Jackson and Southwest identified with, 169.
Slavery extension, political issue after 1815, 1; Missouri Compromise and N. C., 22-24.
Slaves, distribution in N. C., 6-8, 9n, 162.
Slocumb, Jesse, congressman, favors internal improvements, 14.
Smith, B. B., for Calhoun, 52n; distrusts use of public meetings, 84; Raleigh postmaster and member secret Calhoun committee, 85, 86; denounces Dallas for deserting Calhoun, 96n; supports People's ticket, 96n, 97n.
Smith, James S., congressman, favors federal amendment establishing district system, 40.
Snap Dragon, privateer, 2n.
Sound region, water transportation facilities of, 6; economic regime in, 7; attitude on state internal improvements, 13, 21; attitude on federal internal improvements, 14, 16-22, 125, 133; interest in Albemarle inlet, 17-21; visited by Monroe and Calhoun, 18; attitude on banks and fi-

nance, 32, 33; alignment with Middle East against the West, 42, 66; alignment with West against Middle East, 42, 160-164, 172, 173; Calhoun popular in, 100, 125; Jackson acceptable to, 133; Jackson meetings in, 139; votes for People's ticket, 156, 160-164; Adams popular in, 158, 159; significance of election of 1824 to, 172, 173.

South Carolina, N. C. trade with, 6-8.

Spaight, Richard Dobbs, reports legislative resolution against tariff increase, 35; congressman, 37; speaks against General Survey Bill, 37; attends congressional caucus, 82n; attacked as a radical, 115; issues circular for Crawford, 120; denounces tariff, 135, 136; opposes Jackson and internal improvements, 136, 137, 137n; votes for Crawford in House election, 170; defeated for reelection, 172.

Speculation, extensive in N. C. before 1819, 3, 3n, 26.

Stanly, John, Federalist, attacks general ticket system and congressional caucus, 67; favors printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76; suspects public integrity of Crawford, 114; prefers Adams to Calhoun, 144; prefers Jackson to Crawford and caucus, 146, 148; hopes House may elect Adams, 148; opposes separate Adams ticket, 148.

State banks, State Bank of North Carolina, 25, 26; Bank of New Bern, 26; Bank of the Cape Fear, 26; hostile to branch of U. S. Bank, 25, 26; and the anti-bank movement, 25-33; futile attempts to establish wildcat Bank of the State of North Carolina, 31, 32; relation to internal improvements, 32; sectional aspects of anti-bank movement, 32, 33.

State revenue, small, 1n, 5; poor administration of, 5; decrease after 1819, 24; tax rate on property, 25n; dividends on bank stock, 32.

Statesville, public meeting for national road, 133n.

Stokes, Montfort, U. S. senator, 138n; supports Missouri Compromise, 23; for Calhoun, 86n, 91; Jackson his second choice, 91; Jackson elector on People's ticket, 99n; denounces radical Crawford leaders, 115; pledges to vote for Jackson, 153.

Strange, Robert, defeated for speakership of House, 62; opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n; signs Crawford address, 121n.

Swift, Joseph G., New York Calhoun leader active in N. C. campaign, 51, 52n.

Swift, W. R., 52n; arranges Calhoun public meeting at Washington, 84n.

Tariff, political issue after 1815, 1, 125; Calhoun and the, 21, 125; opposition of N. C. to, 21, 34-36; some pro-tariff sentiment in N. C., 36, 37, 131, 132; Crawford leaders hostile to, 116; Crawford leaders attack Jackson as friendly to, 121; Jackson favors, 131, 135; Jackson forces embarrassed by, 132, 135, 136; Adams in favor of, 145n.

Taxation, popular aversion to, 5; rate on property, 25n; tariff preferable to internal taxes, 36; hostility to direct taxes, 127.

Taylor, James F., opposes Fisher resolutions, 67n; opposes printing governor's anti-caucus message, 76.

Tennessee, N. C. trade with, 6; legislators nominate Jackson, 53; adopts Grundy's anti-caucus resolutions, 67n, 79.

The Cape Fear Recorder, supports Crawford, 59, 109.
The Edenton Gazette and North Carolina General Advertiser, claimed as a Calhoun organ, 59n.
The Patriot, New York Calhoun organ, 51.
The Raleigh Minerva, opposes congressional caucus, 41.
The Star and North Carolina State Gazette, supports Calhoun, 55, 59, 124; defeated for public printer, 62; supports People's ticket, 83, 95, 97; opposes Crawford, 114; deplores sectional appeals, 145; urges unity of Jackson-Adams men, 152.
Tobacco, growth in the Piedmont, 6, 160n; staple of the Middle East, 7, 160n; marketed in Virginia, 118, 161; areas vote for Crawford, 161-164.
Towns, prosperous, 3, 3n; population in 1820, 9n; attitude on state internal improvements, 12, 12n. *See* names of towns.
Transportation, poor facilities handicap N. C., 3, 4; needs of various sections, 12, 13; proposed inland waterway, 16, 18-20, 37, 124; proposed Albemarle inlet, 16-21, 124; proposed national road, 20, 37, 124. *See* Commerce; Economic conditions.
Turner, James, U. S. senator, introduces federal amendment to establish district system, 39.

United States Bank, N. C. favors charter, 13, 14; Calhoun favors, 13; branch established at Fayetteville, 25; hostility toward, 25, 25n, 26; Crawford voted to recharter first U. S. Bank in 1811, 110.

Van Buren, Martin, N. C. Crawford leaders favor for vice-presidency, 107.
Vance, R. B., congressman, 21; mildly anti-tariff, 35n; votes for General Survey Bill, 37; does not attend congressional caucus, 82n; votes for Jackson in House election, 170.
Vann, John, signs Jackson broadside, 111n.
Virginia, N. C. trade with, 6-8, 118, 161; Crawford the Virginia candidate, 50, 117, 131; N. C. prejudice against exploited, 50, 87, 116-118, 125, 126, 147; merchants dislike N. C. bank notes, 116; state rights hostility to Calhoun, 124n; N. C. asserts independence from, 158, 172.

Walker, Felix, congressman, opposes Missouri Compromise, 23.
War Hawks, nationalistic spirit of, 1.
War of 1812, influence on nationalism, 1; influence in N. C., 2, 116; Calhoun and the, 123; Jackson and the, 130, 134.
Washington, N. C. trade center, 8; public meeting nominates first People's ticket elector, 84, 84n.
Washington, George, N. C. orders portraits of, 2n.
Washington, John, favors state internal improvements, 10n.
Washington Republican, Calhoun organ in Washington, D. C., 48, 49.
Wasp, commanded by Blakeley, defeats *Reindeer* and *Avon,* 2n.
Weldon, trading center, 6.
Western Carolinian, chief Calhoun organ, 47, 49-53, 55, 115; opposes Beall resolution, 68n, 71; supports People's ticket, 84, 95, 97; exultant over the election, 158; concern for the "representative principle," 170.
Western convention of 1823, seeks constitutional reform, 34; hostile to Crawford, 65.
Western North Carolina, poor transportation facilities of, 4; less powerful than the East, 4,

5; economic regime in, 6, 7; favors state internal improvements, 10-12; extent of, 12n; attitude toward federal internal improvements, 14, 20, 21, 125, 133; favors Missouri Compromise, 23; attitude on banks and finance, 32, 33; alignment against the East, 42, 66; alignment with sound region against Middle East, 5-8, 42, 160-164, 172, 173; strong for Calhoun, 55, 125; has the spirit of political revolt, 71; Jackson popular in, 92, 95n, 133, 141; Jackson meetings in, 139; votes for Jackson and the People's ticket, 156n, 157, 160-164; significance of election to, 172, 173.

Williams, Lewis, congressman, hostile to Calhoun, 47, 47n; active for Crawford, 47n, 104, 105, 119; attends congressional caucus, 82n; attacked as a radical, 115; sends anti-Calhoun pamphlet to Bartlett Yancy, 119n; takes the stump for Crawford, 120, 121; opposes Adams, 146; influence in West for Crawford, 164; and the House election, 167n, 168n, 169, 170; says Crawford forces hold balance of power, 171; reelected to Congress after a contest, 171n, 172n.

Williamson, J. G. A., favors Fisher resolutions, 67n.

Williamson, Robert, Crawford elector, 74n.

Wilmington, chief port, 8, 116; favors state internal improvements, 12n; visited by Monroe and Calhoun, 18; state bank in, 26.

Wilson, Joseph, signs Crawford address, 121n.

Wilson, L. D., signs Jackson broadside, 111n.

Women, imprisonment of for debt abolished, 31; interested in the presidential campaign, 140.

Yancy, Bartlett, congressman, 14; chief N. C. Crawford leader, 46, 74, 80, 118, 119, 119n, 121, 121n, 165, 165n; speaker of state senate, 62, 77; appointment as postmaster general predicted, 74n; receives physician's report on Crawford's health, 107n.